4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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THE MONGUORS OF THE KANSU-TIBETAN BORDER

Part II. Their Religious Life

LOUIS M. J. SCHRAM, C.I.C.M.

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PREFACE

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The origin, history, and social organization of the Monguors were studied in Part I,[1] together with the family and economic life. Their religious life is here dealt with as Part II of the same study.

It is common knowledge that the private and public religious life of the Monguors is intensive, and that the Monguors are as fervently Lamaist as shamanist, and also practise rites belonging to neither of these religions.

In dealing with the Lamaism of the Monguors, the purpose is not to study the origin, the history, and the philosophy of Lamaism in general in Tibet and Mongolia; instead, in the first part of the study, emphasis is put on the historical frame within which Lamaism was diffused in the limited region of Huang-chung.

The study is based on local chronicles, the Chinese histories, and all available sources, and also on the experience of a long stay among the people. The author hopes that he has thus attained insight into the history of the introduction, growth, flourishing, and crises of Lamaism, depending on peculiar circumstances of persons, events, and times.

The part played by the Chinese emperors in the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung will be noted, the reasons of the imperial policy explained, and the peculiar legal institutions that were established to promote Lamaism will be recorded.

Local history will provide the data regarding the times, the places, and the peculiar circumstances in which monasteries were founded, and will point to the outstanding position occupied by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung, situated in the heart of the Monguor country north of the Hsining River. Erh-ku-lung surpassed all the lamaseries of the country for a century. Animated with prodigious activity it founded forty-two daughter lamaseries, enrolling a tremendous number of the Monguor male population in its institutions.

The local history will reveal also that some of the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung were learned authors of books, and directors of the imperial committee for the translation of the Kanjur and Tanjur from Tibetan into Mongol and that important diplomatic missions in Tibet were entrusted to them by the emperors who appointed them as spiritual directors of the Mongol princes, and from whom they received honorary offices at the capital.

Their influence reached as far as Peking, Mongolia, and Tibet. The colleges of Erh-ku-lung were attended by lamas from Kansu, Mongolia, and Tibet who, upon returning to their own countries, founded monasteries on the pattern of Erh-ku-lung.

These historical facts will explain the influence exerted by the Monguor lamas upon Lamaism, and upon

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[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **44** (1), 1954.

PREFACE

771 the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken
175 of these historical facts in order to explain the actual
121 religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

[795] The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

[114] The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation. [p. 1(B)]

122 It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the second part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, to Mr. Owen Lattimore and his colleagues of the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, and Professor Schuyler Cammann for assistance in the final editing.

000 I owe a special debt of gratitude to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and wish to express my sincerest appreciation for

NOTE ON THE

114 In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to two Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these two works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih, New annals of Hsining prefecture,* in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these

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her considerable help graciously rendered in correcting 100 and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours. I owe no small tribute to Miss Patricia E. Kenney who assisted in the typing with the same gladness and devotion.

L. M. J. S.

June, 1955
Arlington, Virginia

CHINESE SOURCES

"new" Annals had before him the original edition of 114 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung chih, New collected annals of Kansu*, in 100 *chuan*, printed in the Hsüan-t'ung period (1909–1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

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THE MONGUORS OF THE KANSU-TIBETAN FRONTIER

Part II. Their Religious Life

Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M.

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I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, 771
and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is 781
quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, 788
by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um.*[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang,*[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone [764]
in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

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[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and [104]
still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* **24**: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma,* the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, [104]
upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized [575] in every village. The members convene to recite the 781 Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[3] of the village 788 all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their court- 778 yards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an 781 extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer 788 becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, lis- [522 teners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a 831] good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

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[3] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the [104] entrance of evil influences.

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twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its representative. 782
He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

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shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Ow- 771 754 ing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor 756 clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests per- [795 forming rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy 793] Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and sha- 779 manism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, 792 and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its mem- 602 bers, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. 792 Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious 614 institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real sup- 175 porters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. [778] The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, 829 771 the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

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understand the striking incompatibility which exists 829
between the religious and philosophical principles of 771
these religions, while we see the paradox of things which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe that each of these religions is right, and practice them according to their various circumstances of life. While their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually developed. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this carelessness concerning differences between religions and philosophical principles? Our illusions and misunderstandings occur because we compare the conversion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient times, and assume that a similar change of mind took place among the Monguors. We envision churches filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving instructions about definite dogmas, children attending parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion, and being educated in their belief, and we also envision a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries 792
are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in 794
common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in 796
the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual 771
leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and instruct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools for children; nor is anything done to provide serious religious education for the people. Lamaists are like stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and principles were instilled in the minds of prospective converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of other religions was explained. The prospective converts were taught that they must live according to the principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they would have to change from their way of life to the Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings, habits, and way of thinking. None of these things are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother, for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some money. Shamans are considered the most potent men in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites. Consequently, the two religions are considered equally necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed ap- 771
pears to be responsible for the Mongours still being fer-

[p. 7(A)]

vent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism 771 never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who [795] were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of 771 the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under 756 the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys [648] a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

[p.7(B)]

Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong 771
among the Monguors and over the whole country, that 756
even Sinicized Mongours and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.[4]

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining do not record a single fact 175
concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first 771
was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. 792
Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13*a* incidentally notes: ". . . the country of Huang-chung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1–12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans.

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scy- 175
thians to support the assertion of the profession of Bud- 771
dhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."[1] However, the main branch of the Yüeh-chih

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[4] Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentilshommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202–201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1*b*). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121–119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huang-chung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2*a*). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89–105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-Ts'ung-Ch'iang*, and *I-Ts'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, re-

tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the 175
Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became 771
unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.[2] When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80–11–, or A.D. 120–162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism.

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, [177]
were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630–650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775–788 or 797), was more successful.[3] Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans.

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism "seems," however, to have been spread 175
into the country in the first centuries of our era, because 792
the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2*b*) mentions the "monastery" Pei Ch'an-ssu, and notes: ". . . the 'monastery' is situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the 'Earth Tower Mountain' "; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: ". . . north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the monastery of the 'Earth Tower.' "

According to the Chinese "Dictionary of Famous Men of China," (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts'e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401–439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou.* In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

> the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the 'Earth Tower' temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the 'Earth Tower'; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

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spectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6*a*–11*b*. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11*b*) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them.

Ed. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après Le Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao*, 6: 527–528, 1905.

[2] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrème Orient*, 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[3] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 361. Bacot, Jacques, Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

"The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontiers of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court."

[p. 8(B)]

According to this text, Han-yin does not report having seen the temple between 401 and 439. He notes only the text of the *Shui-ching-chu,* an earlier geographical work, probably completed before A.D. 265, by an unknown author and largely commented and expanded by Li Tao-Yüan on the basis of his own studies and observations. He died in 527.[4] Han-yin consequently used the original edition of the *Shui-ching-chu* and thus the fact of the existence of the vestiges of the ruined temple (or temples) of the "Earth Tower" before A.D. 265 is evidenced. The *Shui-ching-chu* of Li Tao-Yüan notes *verbatim* the same text (p. 24*b*), adding: ". . . when Han-yin says, 'on the northern side of Hsi-p'ing is the temple of the "Earth Tower,"' he refers to this temple."

NOT A BUDDHIST TEMPLE

The original *Shui-ching-chu* in mentioning, "the temple of the 'Earth Tower' uses the term *Shen-ssu* for "temple." This term is not specific for temples devoted to the worship of Buddha, but rather is used to designate temples devoted to sacrifices to ancestors or to the spirits in general. The text notes that the vestiges of the "temple" were still existing in 265.

The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 notes the existence of the *Pei Ch'an-ssu,* "the northern temple of contemplation," also called *Yung-hsing-ssu,* "temple of eternal inspiration," situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city at the foot of the "Earth Tower Mountain." The name of "Earth Tower Mountain," situated five *li* north of the city, was still well known in 1912; the temple was still called *Pei Ch'an-ssu,* which eliminates any doubt concerning the identity of the location of the temple called by these three names.[5] In 1912 a steep winding path led to the temple, which was a deep cavern, and some smaller ones, dug half way up the mountain side. A large, elaborate veranda constituted the entrance. Inside the cavern were statues of Lu tung-ping, Ho-hu-yeh, Ma-wang, and Niu-wang. It is certain that the temple was a Taoist temple. An old Taoist, living in one of its small rooms, took care of it, collecting some grain in autumn from the neighboring farmers and enjoying his job.

IT IS ACTUALLY CALLED PEI CH'AN-SSU

Ch'an-ssu suggests that the builders of the temple belonged to the Dhyana sect, diffused in China by Buddhidharma, an Indian or Iranian Buddhist missionary, who arrived only in A.D. 520 (?) and died in 535.[6] The

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[4] A. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period* 2: 970 sq., note by Dr. Hu Shih and *passim* the references concerning the *Shui-ching-chu* in Vols. 1-11 (see "Index of Books," in Hummel, *op. cit.*).

[5] *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih,* ch. 39, p. 16*a*, erroneously notes: "130 *li* west of the city of Hsi-p'ing is the mountain of the Earth-tower, at its base is the temple (*Shen-ssu*) of the Earth-tower."

[6] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2: 299-300, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship 175
of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-* 792
ssu would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu,* the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu,* it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu.* Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" be- 175
tween A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before 771
the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120– 777
162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.,* 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.,* 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.,* 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese [113]
frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese

[p 9 (B)]

The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country. 175 [633]

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions. 175 771 [793]

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936. [113]

[p. 10(A)]

tribes[12] and assimilating the smaller ones, changed the 175 whole of the population. This raises the question 771 whether Buddhism was spread into the country by these Hsien-pi tribes. It could hardly have been spread by the group of nomadic Hsien-pi tribes called *T'u-fa* which, coming along the Yin-Shan, settled in the region between Lan-chou and Hsining during the second century A.D.[13] No historical data exist concerning the diffusion of Buddhism along the Yin-Shan at that time. Consequently, these Hsien-pi tribes did not spread Buddhism in Huang-chung at the time of their arrival.[14] Two centuries later they founded an ephemeral realm called "Nan-liang," having its capital in Hsining (339–414). For the same reason, Buddhism cannot have been spread at the time of the arrival of the second group of Hsien-pi, called the Ch'i-fu tribes, which in the third century A.D. came from the northern desert, where they lived as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, and then settled in the country of the T'ao River, south of Hsining. They founded the ephemeral realm of Hsi Ch'ing (385–431) with its capital in Ho-chou.[15] Nor can Buddhism, again for the same reason, have been spread at the time of the arrival of a third strong group of Hsien-pi, the T'u-yü-hun tribes which, living as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, settled in A.D. 280 in the neighboring region of Hsining and in Kukunor, and founded a realm which lasted until 672. At the time of the invasions by these Hsien-pi tribes in the country of Huang-chung, they were still buried in barbaric darkness.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY THE BUDDHIST KINGS OF LIANG-CHOU?

This interesting problem will be approached from 175 geographical and historical aspects. The countries of Huang-chung and Liang-chou are separated by the Nan-Shan (southern mountain range), across which many low passes facilitate communication. During the Hou-Han dynasty Huang-chung depended on Liang-chou.[16] Later on, it was conquered and governed successively by the kings of the ephemeral realms of Ch'ien-Liang, Hou-Liang, and Pei Liang, who resided at the important emporium of Liang-chou.[17]

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[12] Wieger, *Textes historiques* 2: 1207–1208, Ho-chien Fu, Imprimerie de Hien-hien, 1904.

[13] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, op. cit.* 2: 112.

[14] James A. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 126, 1933. "Before the Wei had established their realm in the north. . . . They had not yet heard of Buddha, or if they had, they had not yet put their trust in him." Wei, alias Yüan Wei, ruled over varying portions of North China from 386.

[15] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 85.

[16] *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 29, p. 15.

[17] Wolfram Eberhard, *Das Toba Reich in Nord China*, 180, Leiden, Brill. In 439 T'o-pa Wei conquered Pei Liang, the last of the petty realms which had successively settled in Liang-chou from 345 on. These realms had so monopolized the entire trade of Central Asia that Liang-chou became the most important colony of foreign traders, whose caravans arrived incessantly.

[p. 10(B)]

The Chin dynasty, which started in A.D. 265, had 175 been unable to control its empire, which was invaded by the northern barbarians. The governors of the distant Liang-chou, according to the circumstances, recognized the authority of either the empire or one of the nearest new barbarian kingdoms (Chao, Ch'ing, Wei), or both at the same time, or even declared themselves independent, founding their own kingdoms and expanding their power and influence as far as Turkistan and Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, pp. 14–17).

From 345 until 439 Liang-chou was not only the 175 most important emporium of the West but also the most 771 active cultural center of Buddhism.

The kings of Ch'ien-Liang (345–385) promoted and protected Buddhism.[18] The kings of Hou-Liang (385–401) were as fervent protectors of Buddhism as the kings of Ch'ien-Liang.[19] However, Buddhism reached its highest degree of intellectual activity during the period of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün of Pei Liang (401–439), who controlled Turkistan and nearly the entire east of modern Kansu.[20] His counselor was the celebrated Dharmaksema.[21] One is easily tempted to suppose that Buddhism was diffused on a large scale in the countries subjected to unusually fervent Buddhist rulers—and all the more since during the period of 401–439, two [167] thousand families from Liang-chou were transported to Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 176), three thousand from Yung-ch'ang (ch. 30, p. 18*a*), and five thousand from Ho-chou (ch. 30, p. 18*b*). It seems to be an axiom that in Asia, and especially among

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Because China at that time was involved in endless wars, many Chinese from Ho-pei, allured by the prospects of peaceful living and profitable trading, moved into Liang-chou. The acquisition of the wealthy and rich emporium of Liang-chou had also been the motive for the expedition of the T'o-pa and the destruction of Pei Liang. The Chinese population of Liang-chou, according to the custom during these ages, were then taken slaves to populate the realm of the T'o-pa.

[18] They built the big monastery and superb tower in the city of Liang-chou, the first grottos of *Sha-chou* (Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1185), and supported Chih-shih-lün, an Upsaka of the country of the Yüeh-chih, who translated in Liang-chou four volumes of Buddhist texts (*A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, App. II, No. 35, p. 398, Bunyiu Nanjio, 1930), and the Chinese *Sramana* Chu Fu-nien who translated 12 works (Catalogue . . . App. II, No. 58, p. 405).

[19] The king's counselor was the Indian monk, Kumarajiva, who translated the 200 and more volumes of the Sutralankara (*Nanjio catalogue*, App. II. No. 59, p. 407) in Liang-chou. They built a tower and a monastery in the city, said to contain the relics of the monk (*Annals* of Liang-chou, 30*a*); the monk was very proficient in foretelling the future (*ibid.*, 34*b*, 35*a*.)

[20] *The Bunyiu Nanjio catalogue of Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* mentions no less than nine names of learned foreign monks working in Liang-chou, supported by the king, translating 82 works from Indian and Sanskrit into Chinese (App. II, p. 410, No. 61, pp. 64–72). Nan-yang-hu, the nephew of the king was a translator (App. II, No. 83). Walter Fuchs, Zür technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften in Chinesische, *Asia Major* 6: 84, 1930.

[21] *Annals* of Liang-chou, 34*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 196. Ware, *op. cit.* 2: 133.

[p. 11(A)]

the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed 175 by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there 771 existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or [792] monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities [184] did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account [798] of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals,* ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals,* ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals,* ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of 175 Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by 113 data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

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[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, ". . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal,* 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

[P. 11(B)]

Buddhism, introduced in Tibet during the reign of 175
King Sron-btsan sgam-po, who died in A.D. 650 or 698, 771
was persecuted by King Lang Darma in either 841 or [798]
901. The persecution lasted for 70 or 108 years.
However, the doctrine continued to exist in Western Tibet (mNa-ris).

In Book II of the *Blue Annals* (pp. 65–66) it is stated that:

> dGe-ba rab-gsal started his religious life at the hermitage of Zin-dpon. Three hermits[24] had fled via Khotan, to the country of Hor (Uigur kingdom), during the persecution and proceeding to Amdo met with dGe-ba rab-gsal, born in 892 in the village of Jya-zur situated north of Hsün-hua on the northern bank of the Yellow River. One of these "Three Learned Men of Tibet" ordained dGe-ba rab-sgal who went to Kan-chou (Kansu) for study but could not enter Tibet on account of the famine. In a vision he saw "Asuras" known as the "Nine Brother Dwarfs" residing in the neighborhood of Mount Dantig, who invited him to go to their place where there are great hermitages "promising to become his lay supporters."
>
> In order to combat certain Yogis existing there, he laid the foundation of the monastery of Dantig, disciples joined him; he resided there for 35 years and died at 84 (975). Other celebrated fugitives of Tibet, called "The Six Men from *dbUs* and *gTsan*," who inaugurated the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, had met with dGe-ba rab-sgal, and had their ordination ceremony presided over by his disciple.

The text of the *Blue Annals* presents evidences of the existence of the hermitage of Zin-dpon and the founding of a hermitage at Mount Dantig by dGe-ba rab-gsal in the country where, during that period, there existed "great hermitages."

The text (*Blue Annals*, 65) fixing the location of Mount Dantig notes: "Ri Dantig is situated on the bank of the rMa-chu or Huang-ho, southeast of Kum-'bum and north of Hsün-hua." In the Introduction (p. 17), the author notes that "dGe-ba rab-gsal was born in 892 in Tsong-ka bDe-khams" (north Amdo; according to a local tradition his native village was Jya-zur, situated on the northern bank of the rMa-chu, north of Hsün-hua).

The location of Mount Dantig on which dGe-ba rab-gsal built his hermitage in A.D. 940, southeast of Hsining on the northern bank of the Yellow River, seems to correspond perfectly with that of the Mount Ami ch'ü-lu situated 140 *li* southeast of Hsining on which is built the actually still existing picturesque monastery of Sha-ch'ung. In 1910 its origin had been lost, but various surviving traditions attributed its origin to the Yüan

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che composed in 1322, partly translated by E. Obermiller, 1931, are the main sources of information for all later historical compilations in Tibet. *Ibid.*, Introduction, 1.

[24] *Idem*, 63, cites Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*. Obermiller, *Blue annals*, 2: 201. The three men are called *Bodhi-kyi mkhas-pa mi-gsum* or The Three Learned Men of Tibet. They are buried in a temple at Hsining. In dPari, north of Hsining, there exists a stone pillar with the names of three men mentioned on it (verbal communication of Rev. dGe-dun Chos-'phel). I never heard about such facts during my sojourn in the country.

[p. 12(A)]

period (1280–1368). The site of the hermitage of Zin-dpon being less picturesque, it is hard to identify it with the monastery of Goorong bzan which is a neighbor of Sha-ch'ung.[25]

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[25] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrème Orient* **44**: 229, 1951, identifies Sha-ch'ung (Sha-ch'ung of the Hsining *Annals*) with the monastery of the Rock of Bya-k'yun, below the city of Kui-te, south of Hsining, in the region of the Tibetans situated behind Tsong-ko. He gives details (p. 230) concerning the region of Tsong-ko situated between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng, where he notes the river of Tsong running in the valley between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng. The *Annals* of Hsining provide more details; "the River Tsong is east of the city (subprefecture of Nien-pei) (ch. 4, p. 15*a*). The valley of Tsong is situated 30 *li* west of the Great Rapids" (ch. 4, p. 10*b*), which are *circa* 30 *li* east of Nien-pei. "The River Tsong-ko which is north of the old city of Tsong-ko is [also known as] the River of Hsining [Huang-shui]; when the river reaches the city of Tsong-ko it is then called Tsong-ko River. The river changes its name according to the places [through which it flows] (ch. 4, p. 17*a*). South of the subprefecture of Nien-pei, there exists a city of Tsong-ko." The Sung *Annals* note: "The city of Lung-chih, which is the old city of Tsong-ko, depended on the Chou of Hsining. Concerning old Lung-chih there are three: at the time of the Han dynasties the city was situated west of the actual Ning-I [Hsining] in the *Chün* of the western Sea (Kukunor); at the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties Lung-chih was situated to the southwest of the actual Nien-pei near the Yellow River; at the time of the Sung dynasty it was located to the south of Nien-pei; therefore, it is an error to say indiscriminately that the old city of Tsong-ko was only one city."

Shih-ch'eng (ch. 7, p. 13*a*) "is situated south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River," But ch. 7, p. 14 notes: "south of Nien-pei is the old city of Hua-ch'eng, which is properly the city of Shih-ch'eng established by the Hu-Wei; because in that region there was a Hua-lung valley, its name was changed to that of Hua-ch'eng hsien in 568 and in 712 the T'ang emperor adopted this appellation." (See also article *K'uo-chou, Annals*, ch. 7, pp. 12*a* and *b*.) However, ch. 4, p. 10 notes: "To the northwest of Hsining (region of the Kukunor) is a river running eastward (River of Hsining) passing south of Shih-ch'eng, which joins the river of the northern valley." This text and the former one concerning Tsong-ko seem to point to the strange fact that there have existed in the region of Kukunor a Tsong-ko and a Shih-ch'eng, before two cities called by the same names were established in the region south of Nien-pei.

In modern times the region south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River was separated from Nien-pei by the Ch'ing dynasty and organized as the T'ing of Pa-yen-jung. The Chinese Republic changed the name of Pa-yen-jung to Hua-lung hsien in honor of the old Hua-ch'eng hsien of 568, which at that time had taken over the place called Shih-ch'eng.

Conclusively, the former Tsong River joined the river of Hsining *circa* 10 *li* below Nien-pei; the region of Tsong-ko, Shih ch'eng in later times, was situated in the country south of Nien-pei and constitutes now, completely or at least for its largest part, the territory of Hua-lung hsien, near southwest of Nien-pei and really behind Tsong-ko as Stein notes: ". . . and southwest in Hua-lung hsien near the Yellow River is Sha-ch'ung."

More is available concerning the Tibetan tribes of Tsong-ko and the neighborhood from 1006 on (ch. 31, p. 1 *sq.*) fighting against and exterminating each other in the nomadic pattern; also about the Tsong-ko lama Li li-tsun, who married his daughter to the powerful Tibetan chief Kio-sse-louo, etc., which point to the fact that at that time these lamas belonged to the group of the Red Sect which was permitted marriage (ch.

175 792 Thus, in 940 dGeba rab-gsal, who had started his religious life in the monastery of Zin-dpon, built a monastery in Dantig. At that time there existed in that region "great hermitages" and a temple in Hsining, where the three learned men from Tibet were buried. Later their names were chiseled on a stone pillar in dPari (the region between the Ta t'ung River and Nanshan, reaching to P'ing fan). At what time were the "great hermitages," the monastery of Zin-dpon, and the temple at Hsining built? Were there at that time hermitages in dPari?

175 The *Annals of Kansu* 45, 65–66, and the *Annals of Hsining* 30A, 30 a, b, record that during the span of time from the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (some years before 650 or 696), until its persecution (in 841 or 901), the T'ufan occupied Huang chung and Lungyu from 756 until 842, under the leadership of successive descendants of the imperial T'ufan family (Tsanpu), who appointed their own officials in the country without interference by the Chinese empire. It seems appropriate to assume that Tibetan lamas would at that time have followed the T'ufan tribes in Huang chung, and have built the "great hermitages" [792] and the temple in Hsining, being encouraged by the Tsanpu leaders, the promoters of Buddhism. Thus Buddhism would have been diffused in Huang chung between 756–842 by lamas from Tibet and that is why "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining existed before 940.

The minor importance of these institutions founded in troubled times, the loss of traditions concerning their origin, and the minor interest of the Chinese scholars for Lamaism, explain the lack of records in the Chinese *Annals*.

175 771 Conclusively, from the very beginning of the Chinese colonization of Huang chung until its conquest by the Mongols in 1227, the foundation of the hermitage of Dantig in 940, and the existence at that time, of "great hermitages" in that region, and of a Buddhist temple in the city of Hsining, are the only Lamaist institutions concerning which historical records exist.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE YUAN DYNASTY (1280–1367)

175 When the Mongols conquered Huang-chung, the country was nearly depopulated. They found a few

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31, p. 2b). Also, more is available concerning the subject in *Kansu chüan shen Hsin-t'ung-chih*, 1909, ch. 46, pp. 6*b*, 7*a* and 7*b*. See also Wolfram Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 20, Brill, Leiden, 1942, Shih ch'eng, alte Hsiung-nu Gebiet.

[103] Incidentally, I encountered in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, Pt. 1, No. 1, p. 28: "The north of Machhu is occupied by Chinese, Tibetans, Hor, Mohammedans [this seems to be the region of Pa-yen Jung], in the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yantig in which Tantig Shelgi is a sacred place." The location seems to be the region directly south of Nien pei. However, in 1910 no monastery existed in that region.

[p. 13 (A)]

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175 fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563] A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175 Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797 the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175 feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648 destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781] and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175 the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

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[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23-57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217-91, 578. [113]

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510-517-522.

[p. 13(8)]

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, 175
the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, 771
Nestorianism, Catholicism.

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was [184]
limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism.

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded 175
in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the 792
monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, 346
with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans'" (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana."[33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the [771]
celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34]

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[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[32] *Ibid.*, 96.

[33] *Ibid.*, 92.

[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

[p. 14(A)]

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911), 175
rumors upset the country for a long time, according to 114
which all the temples were to be confiscated and con- 792
verted into schools. The Li T'u-ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser of the two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzan, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzan called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fo-ssu.

SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning mon- 175
asteries built during the Yüan period, linger among the 792
lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 *li* southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203–1282),[38] the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful 792
lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of [346]
buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'ü-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding moun-

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[38] Gunther Schuleman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Güyük and Mönke most of the lamas on duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kukunor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skya (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang*, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 57).

[p. 14(B)]

tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three 792 hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on [346] top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'üng, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[36]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung 175 was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage 792 where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most im- 792 portant monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living 578 Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession [691] of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

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[36] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934–1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. 1, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

[p. 15 (A)]

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma 792 Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent 578 official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states:

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the 792 sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, 627 fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a 175 way was found to settle the case, by promising that no 771 more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; 792 but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li [622 T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the 624] Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huangchung during the Yüan period there probably must

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[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p.115(B)]

have existed more insignificant hermitages, scattered 175
over the country. The lack of historical data does not 771
permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism 792
during the Yüan period.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the 175
wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and pro- 662
moting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, 771
in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions.

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.[39]

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Viceregent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

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[39] Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.*

[p, 16(A)]

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected 771
completely even the existence of Lamaism before the 114
Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 648
13*b*) that 662

> At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.
>
> Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the 175
> barbarians, the government took advantage of them in 792
> order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of 622
> the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

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[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good 175
will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes 554
into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high 792
appreciation for the achievement, by rewarding San-la 662
in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a* of the *Annals*, concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

> . . . in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih ["teacher of the empire"], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425–35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to "influential lamas," which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 4*a*), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of "great teacher of the empire" and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of "teacher of the empire" had previously been granted (1403–1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title "Master in Dhyana" and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.[42]

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[42] The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih, Chüan chou* (p. 27*a*), records: "Kubilai [1280–1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of 'great king of the precious law,' *Ta-pao-fa-wang*. When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih*, 'teacher of the emperor'; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368–1398] the titles of 'teacher of the empire' and 'great teacher of the empire' were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403–1424] the title of 'king of the law' had been granted to two lamas, and that of 'Buddha of the western Paradise' to two

[p, 17(A)]

REASONS FOR THIS POLICY

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The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country. [622]

The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu-tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naively notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

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other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maitres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

[p, 17(B)]

bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled 792
the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason. 554

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher 662
of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." 175
(This unusual favor must have been granted for the
same sort of reason.)

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang- 175
chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: 792
the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. 554
Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting 793
of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them.

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice (usually his nephew) and remained as before a private interest.

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[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien. Herold, 1949.

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Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.[45] This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Ch'ien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo,* "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai liang chia,* "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910–1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 6*a* and 6*b*;

> Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 *li* north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its lama had received the title of "Master of the Empire," with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-

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[45] *Tung-hua-lu,* First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23*a*, 25. *Ming-shih-lu,* Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, p. 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S.J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine,* 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine,* 49–50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.,* 36.

[p. 18(B)]

suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they 175
refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked 792
the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. 554
The request was readily granted, and an arrangement 793
was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefect of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15*a*), say that "in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery." In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of "Master of the empire" and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pen-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 15*a*). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch'eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples, Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua ssu, which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one side of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the lama still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa [44]

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch'i, Ch'ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the

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[44] The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

[p. 19(A)]

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16*a*). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its
temple, about which more will be said. 792

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 554
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 428

[p, 19(B)]

792 of his family assembled and protested, urging that a
554 boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord
428 as his apprentice, and that a testament should be written
and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families) 175

792 This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be
554 in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was
[651] attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhyana"),
the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

554 Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence,
428 their families being exempted from land taxes because
they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

herited the privilege by virtue, he said, of possessing 554 the seal and the patent letters. Every year he received 428 his wheat support and was exempt from land and mill taxes. To him, this condition seemed very reasonable! The same condition existed in Sha-t'ang-ch'uan with the layman Hsiao-ssu Ch'an-shih chia. It is hard to understand how the privilege could have continued after the revolt of 1723, when under orders from Peking all the seals and patent letters granted during the Ming were withdrawn.

These facts shed light on the peculiar way in which 792 Lamaism was diffused during the Ming in Huang-chung, and explain one of the reasons why the monasteries became the proprietors of vast domains, governing subjects and exerting a tremendous influence all over the country.

During the Yüan and the very beginning of the Ming dynasties, small communities of lamas of the Red Sect had been founded by wandering lamas who had attained a certain local reputation for skill in necromancy, or who by asceticism had gained a reputation as holy men, thereby attracting a few disciples. The bonds which bound these married or unmarried men were, without doubt, looser than the bonds which tied the lamas of the lamaseries of the later Yellow Sect. However, it may be assumed that in those times none of these little communities yet exerted a prominent influence upon the country, and for that reason nothing about them was recorded in the *Annals*.

The minor importance of these monasteries seems to account also for the fact, that at the beginning of the Ming (1368), the lama, Sanla, could ~~be~~ appointed chief of the board of lamas. The fact, however, of the institution of such a board at the beginning of the Ming seems to prove that at that time although the communities were small, the total number of lamas was large enough to justify the creation of such a board.[47]

NO LIVING BUDDHAS IN HUANG-CHUNG DURING THE MING DYNASTY

It is noteworthy that at that time titles and benefits were indiscriminately bestowed upon meritorious lamas, lamas who were chiefs of tribes, chiefs of more or less important communities, and even single lamas. There were as yet no Living Buddhas.

The first Living Buddha, recognized as the reincarnation of Tsong khapa (1357–1419), the founder of the Yellow Sect, was Gedun-gyatso who in 1475 inherited the succession of the second head of the sect. The prin-

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[47] The Ming policy of the T'u-ssu, Karwa, and Nangsuo institutions, and of the grant of Kuo shih and Ch'an-shih titles to lamas with their respective privileges, was not peculiar to Huang-chung. It was also followed in south Kansu, Lin-t'ao, and Ho-chou, where nineteen T'u-ssu, Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih, etc., were created. After the revolt of 1723 the Chinese officials of Ho-chou asked for the abolition of these institutions, because of oppressions by T'u-ssu and lamas (*Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 88: 12–13).

792 795 The principles on which succession by reincarnation are founded had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashilhumpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.[48] Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.[49] Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincaration, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.[50]

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY 775

792 346 In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. 14*a*, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as

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[48] Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.

[49] Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.

[50] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237. [p. 21(A)]

the temple of T'ieh-fu-ssu, 40 *li* west of Hsining in 1537 175
(ch. 31, p. 15*a*). 792

The information in the *Annals* is restricted to these 346
five poor items. Huth notes [51] that the Third Dalai Lama, Sod-nam, on his way to Ordos in 1582, went from Kukunor to Kumbum and established a college there for the explanation of sacred texts. From Kumbum he went to Ribo-nan-tig (probably the hermitage of Dantig noted on pp. 31 *sq.*), to take a long rest; then, after visiting many big lamaseries, he arrived in the Ordos. I am unable to identify the names of the lamaseries noted here, and am very sceptical about these "big" monasteries, because no ruins, vestiges or traditions of them are preserved. The big monasteries of Huang-chung which have to be studied, were all built in more recent times. The historical data are again very scanty.

CH'Ü-T'AN-SSU, FIRST LAMASERY BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

The first lamasery built during the Ming, according to the *Annals* (ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*), is the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an.[52] The history of this first lamasery, built by the Ming emperors, is preserved in broad strokes in the text (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 32, pp. 16–20) of three steles, now demolished. All three give evidence of the high consideration of the emperors for Lamaism.

The first text was granted by Emperor T'ai-tsung (Ch'eng-tsu) of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424), and concerns a "golden" (bronze) statue offered to the lamasery by the emperor. The text notes that the artisans, not succeeding in preparing the mold for the statue, went to eat their meal. While they were gone the mold grew into perfect shape of its own accord. The statue was cast from it and exuded a wonderful perfume.

The second text was granted by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Hung-hsi period (1425). It recalls the merits of Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399), who founded the monastery, ordered the building of a temple, and granted the name of "Ch'ü-t'an," and of Emperor T'ai-tsung who ordered the construction of a second temple.

The third text, granted by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Hsüan-te period (1426–1436), ordered the construction of a third temple, after recalling summarily the history of the lama, San-la, and his tribe, and the grant of the monastery and its title.

Legends

The origin of the celebrated monastery is overlaid 538
with a wonderful legend, believed and enjoyed by the people. It should first be remembered that Emperor

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[51] Huth, *op. cit.* 2: 227.

[52] Ch'ü-t'an-Gautama, a name of Shakyamuni, means "most victorious on earth."

[p.21(B)]

T'ai-tsu of the Ming dynasty designated his grandson, 538 Hui-ti, to succeed to the throne in 1399. After three years, his uncle Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period), usurped the throne and Hui-ti perished in a conflagration of the palace. A note added in the history states that it is related that Hui-ti escaped, disguised as a lama, and wandered incognito from monastery to monastery in Yunnan and south China; that he finally returned to Peking in 1440, and died after revealing his identity. This topic seems to be the basis for the legends concerning Ch'ü-t'an. However an "historical" fact may well have provided the fabric from which was woven the legend elaborated by the lamas, since the fact concerns the very province of Kansu.

At the time of the collapse of the Sung dynasty in 1276, the last emperor, Chao-hsien, was made prisoner by the Mongol conquerors in Hang-chou and the Chinese imperial harem was transferred to the north. In 1288 the imperial prisoner was sent (banished) to Kansu (Ho-hsi) in order to study Tibetan sutras. In Kansu he became a lama monk and adopted the religious name of Ho-tsun (mKha-'bcum). He died in 1323 in Kansu, a century before the founding of Ch'ü-t'an.

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) Chinese scholars liked to gossip about the possible Chinese origin of the Mongol emperor, Shun-ti,[53] as well as the possible Mongol origin of the Ming emperor, Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period). These tales are well known among the lamas and the Monguors.

A lama, honored for his holiness, lived in secluded 539 retirement on a high mountain near Ch'ü-t'an. He left for Peking one July carrying a small pack held by a light wooden frame, on his back. The heat was tropical and the holy man threw his mantle in the air, where it remained floating over his head protecting him the whole long way, even in the streets of Peking. Emperor Hui-ti, seeing the miracle, renounced his throne, left the palace and harem, and followed the returning holyman to Ch'ü-t'an with two of his ministers and his two brothers, all of whom became lamas.

At first the emperor resided at the very small monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an. He sent his cattle and horses to the pastures of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and went to Ch'ü-t'an. There he planted his stick at a certain spot and suddenly it turned into a blossoming sandalwood tree; whereupon he decided to build a monastery and a temple around the tree. A dry tree is still shown inside the temple, adorned with ceremonial scarves offered by the worshipping people who pass under its branches in order to receive blessings. Three small trees outside the temple are said to have sprouted from the dry tree.

The emperor had a well dug to be used for watering his horses. A small lama boy, while drawing water, fell into the well and disappeared. Only his clothes were 539 seen in the river with which the well was connected underground. The emperor ordered the well to be filled and had a beautiful tower built over it. The ruins of the tower are still shown to visitors.

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[53] P. Pelliot, L'Edition collective des œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei, *T'oung Pao*, **26**: 136, 1926.

[p.22(A)]

There are displayed in the head temple three fine 538 saddles of unusually large size, with stirrups twice as large as those used today, for in former times people of note were taller, bigger, and stronger. The saddles are said to have belonged to the emperor and his brothers. When the emperor died his two ministers, in fear of having their families exterminated, changed their names. The first adopted the name of Chen Lo-kang, and his descendants still live in the Kang-tse Valley near Nien-pei. The other adopted the name of Yang Kang-tsun; his descendants live in Chen fan Valley.

The emperor appointed a member of the imperial family to manage the lamasery. He was called T'ien-hu-chün, and his name was Chu, the name of the imperial family. The appointment was hereditary and the emperor had carved on a slab the provisions concerning the appointment. The descendant of Mr. Chu presided over the ceremony of theatrical representations on New Year's. Later on, a corrupt descendant, after using the revenues and land taxes of the monastery for himself, was killed by the lamas, and the slab was smashed. The plinth which supported the slab is still shown to visitors.

Inside the courtyard of the enormous temple are the ruins of four beautiful stupas built by the Emperor. At the base of each he had buried, at night, immense treasures. One of the previous incarnations of the Living Buddha dug up the treasure from one of the stupas at night and took it to his residential quarters; but within a few moments his palace vanished in a blaze. Since that time, no one has dared to try to remove the treasures.

Upon his death, the emperor was buried in the lamasery. However, the lamas of Hung-shan-ssu claim that the emperor died and was buried in their monastery, and they have the visitor admire their own ruined tower built over a well and their own old dry tree enclosed in their temple. These honored trees, enclosed by a temple, point to the tree of Kumbum which sprouted from the afterbirth of Tsong khapa buried in Kumbum, even as the small trees sprouted from the roots of the old dry one. The tower built on the well points to the stupa of Kumbum, said to be the first monument built at Kumbum. It is hard to say which of these legends is the oldest.[54]

Temples and History of the Lamasery

Inside an enormous rectangular courtyard are three 792 346 temple halls built in a row; a wall encloses the courtyard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long 792 wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted 346 in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples.

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[54] In Kumbum in 1577 there was built a temple enclosing the celebrated tree which was at that time 223 years old.

[p.22(B)]

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-che (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little [532] smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. One contains butter, one vegetable [782] oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously.

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368–1398; Yung-lo, 1403–1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426–1435; Wan-li, 1573–1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628–1643.

In temple (B) called the Chü-k'ang,' smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hlarang (Maitreya—the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lamas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries:

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung- 792
shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was 346
the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8*a*). In 1747 175
the allocation was still provided by the officials. The 792
Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that 346
because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation.

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14*a*). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16*b*) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery 175
of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is 792
situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests included 578
in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His
reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at [775]
the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh.

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung 792
where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. 342
This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places.

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, 175
the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors [771
toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and 797]
privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in
the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for 792
this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and 175
the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad.

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong 175
khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of 771
his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59]

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[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.

[56] *Ibid.*, 40.

[57] *Ibid.*, 58.

[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.

[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

[p24(B)]

The support and protection of the Mongols and of 175
the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow 648
Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717– 771
1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and [789]
destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in 175
Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the 792
late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated 346
monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

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[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, [792
the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its 137
precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see 755]
Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, 175
the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meet- 792
ing with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yel- 346
low Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. 771
It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612?) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, 227). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way 175
to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Ku- 792
kunor, where he remained for three months without 346
even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?[63] According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19*a*). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,[64] the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,[65] the palace for the Khampo in 1687,[66] the Pakar temple in 1692,[67] Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,[68] College of Medicine in 1850,[69] and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.[70] Ac-

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[63] W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung Pao* 11: 14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.

[64] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.

[65] *Ibid.*, 124.

[66] *Ibid.*, 237.

[67] *Ibid.*, 230.

[68] *Ibid.*, 137.

[69] *Ibid.*, 65.

[70] *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910–1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908–1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with

tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong 175
khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum. 792

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*[71] notes that the series 346
of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for
fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery 775
of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed.

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact 175
that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor 792
cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama 346
Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamtso, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery.

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 175
1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the com- 214
mittee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books 814
into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by

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the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun, (Frontier Affairs)* 3 (5): 16, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

Achia.' "[74] However, the myth of his previous exist- 175
ences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous exist- 214
ence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the 814
Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."[75]

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the 175
lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries 662
of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a 792
less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu[76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha.

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, 175
there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery 792
of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the 346

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[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache,* 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.,* 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

[p. 26(B)]

Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. 175
Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. "*dGon*" means a her- 792
mitage, hence a monastery; "*lung*" means valley—the 346
hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *Ku-lung;* the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kukunor.

Legends

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. 792
The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280- 539
1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Saskya Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege

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of receiving eighty shares at the time of distribution of 792
alms to the lamas. 539

A second legend explains in another way the origin of the monastery, and its peculiar administration by five Living Buddhas. One of the first Dalai Lamas lay dying on his bed in Lhasa from a terrible abscess on his thigh, which was greatly swollen. It would not yield to medical attention. Finally, the state oracle of Lhasa received in his trances notification that five Living Buddhas were confined in the tumor, and had to be released before the abscess would respond to medication. Lamas were sent all over the world to find an enormous sandalwood tree, recently uprooted by a big storm, in which the five Buddhas were confined. A whole army of lamas started in search of the life-saving tree. They eventually found it in the country of Erh-ku-lung. In the presence of an enormous crowd they started sawing the trunk of the fabulous sandalwood tree. Suddenly the teeth of the saw scratched on something which seemed hard as stone, and five statues of Buddhas escaped in the air. With the instinct of homing pigeons they fell on the very spot where a monastery was to be built. This is the origin of the temple and its "Wu-ta-nang." It is said the statues are locked in a closet in the temple, but no one is allowed to see them, the key being kept by the Chang-chia Hutukhtu.

History of the Lamasery

The origin of Erh-ku-lung seems, however, to have 175
been less miraculous. The construction of the mon- 792
astery started in 1604, after the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan (1598–1616), sent the lama, Don Yod Choskyi rgyamtso, from Lhasa to the region of Erh-ku-lung, to invite and encourage the people to build a lamasery.

The first great lama was Sumpa Danchos rgyamtso, born in Sumpa close to Erh-ku-lung.[77] He started with a small community, but attracted more and more novices. It was he who laid the foundation for the monastery.[78] Nothing more is known about this lama [79] except that twice he fulfilled the office of *Fa-t'ai* (see p. 61) of Erh-ku-lung, once in 1621 and again in 1649. These facts seem to support the supposition that the newly founded monastery soon flourished, all the more since a branch had been established at RGyud pagrva, the later monastery of Hsien mi-ssu, from the very beginning.[80] Two lamas, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan,[81] must have been members of

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[77] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* **14**: 253, 1951. Sumpa possibly originated from the ancient Tibetan (Mi-nag) Sumpa tribe, which had submitted to the king of Tibet. At the time of K'ri sron bde btsan (eighth century) the tribe had been appointed warden of the Sino-Tibetan frontiers of the country of Mi-nag.

[78] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* **3** (1): 45.

[79] *Idem* **3** (5): 19.

[80] *Idem* **3** (1): 45.

[81] Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1882: 1 and 5. In Tibet all great personages are called after the name of their birthplace, also sects; *Sa-Skya, Jonanpa, Shanpa, Digun*

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the original community. Chang-chia died (1641?), and 175
was reincarnated for the first time in 1642 near the end 792
of the Ming dynasty, (1643) and became the first Chang-chia Living Buddha.[82] T'u-kuan, a lama born during the Ming dynasty, was chosen Fa-t'ai of Erh-ku-lung in 1672. He died and was reincarnated in 1680 [83] and became the first T'u-kuan Living Buddha.

LAMAISM AT THE END OF THE MING DYNASTY

At the very end of the Ming dynasty (1643), Ch'ü-t'an with more than 600 lamas, having branches with more than 350 lamas, was the leading monastery of Huang-chung. Kumbum began in 1560, and in 1644 was still in its period of development. Nothing is known about Sha-ch'ung, though it must still have existed. The hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, had developed very fast. It had a Living Buddha boy, the Chang-chia, born in 1642. It expanded rapidly and founded hermitages for its lamas, which must have been numerous. Several Nang-suos, Karwas, and Master in Dhyana institutions existed in the country. Domains were given to many lamas who had induced Tibetans to submit to the empire. A small temple may have been built by them, and probably a few small groups of wandering lamas existed all over the country. This seems to have been the situation of Lamaism in Huang-chung at the end of the Ming dynasty.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE CH'ING

The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming, 175
protecting and promoting Lamaism. Its first act was 648
to recognize the *status quo* of Tibet which emerged after conquest by the Ölöts during the troubled period preceding its accession to power. The Ch'ing dynasty, engaged in a terrible struggle with the western Mongols, the Jungars, which lasted for more than a century, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, understood the need for a pro-Lamaist policy. Lamaism had a firm hold on the western Mongols as well as on the eastern Mongols and in Tibet. The struggle was so fierce as to induce Maurice Courant to include in the title of his book *L'Asie centrale aux XVIIme et XVIIIme siècles*, the question, *"Empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou?"* [84] It is easy to understand that in such conditions the favorable disposition of Tibet toward the dynasty would

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Pa are designated after the names of localities where they were taught and originated. *Karmapa*, *Bulugpa*, were taken from the names of their respective teachers. *Kahdampa*, *Dso-gchyenpa*, *Chhyay Chhempa*, and *Shi chhyepa* were named after their respective rituals and external *Kriya*.

[82] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4) : 12.

[83] *Idem* 3 (5) : 12.

[84] *Annales de l'université de Lyon*, n.s., 2, fasc. 24, Lyon, 1912.

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be an immense asset for its policy in Central Asia and 175
in the neighboring countries of China.[85] 648

LAMAISM DIFFUSED BY MONGUOR LAMAS OF EHR-KU-LUNG

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Lamaism reached its 175
highest level of influence and power. Four Living Bud- 792
dhas dominated this period: (1) the Dalai Lama, (2) the Panchen Lama, (3) the rJe-btsun dam-pa of Urga, and (4) the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the Monguor of Erh-ku-lung. The Chang-chia reincarnations were towering personalities. During this period they dominated the Lamaist world of Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, and wielded an important influence in Tibet.

Next to Chang-chia came the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu and the great Sumpa, as celebrated as Chang-chia for their science, learned works and influence at court. Later on, Min-chu-erh, known as Tsanpo Nomun khan,[86] a learned man and chief of the monastery of Seerkok, an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, followed in the wake of the three preceding Hutukhtus. If the names of the chiefs of the celebrated monastery of Labrang, founded in 1708, who were intimately connected with T'u-kuan, and who obtained imperial favors for them and the title of *Erdeni Nomun han* (Huth, p. 332) are added to the glittering list of prominent personalities of Erh-ku-lung, one is not amazed to read in the relations of the Franciscan Fathers written in 1730 in Tibet:

> In my time nearly all the lecturers and lamas of the universities, masters of the Supreme Lama and of the Grand Lamas, who have been born again, came from Amdo, a province from which they do not draw soldiers, (p. 313). . . . Tibetans are generally intelligent, although not equal to the people of the state of Amdo, who are extremely quick (p. 218).[87]

Without a doubt the monastery of Erh-ku-lung profited by the names of its prominent and learned chiefs and lamas. For a long time it surpassed all the other monasteries of Huang-chung. The number of its lamas reached 2,500 in 1723. Its prodigious activity was responsible for the foundation of all the monasteries north of the Hsining River. Since Lamaism, among the Monguors and their clan chiefs, is intimately connected with the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, whose Living Buddhas were mostly born in their country, it is necessary to study Lamaism among them, in the atmosphere of their beloved monastery. In order to gain an insight into the tremendous influence exerted by the

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[85] Schram, *op. cit.*, 36, 37.

[86] *Nom-un khan*—"King of the Law." This title was given for the first time to Gushi. See Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 92, note 45, Princeton, N. J., 1951.

[87] Clement R. Markham, *Narratives of the mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, App. 309, London, 1876; also *Brief account of the Kingdom of Tibet* by Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi, Klaproth, 1730, from the autograph manuscript of the author.

monastery of Erh-ku-lung in the Lamaist world, the 175
three personalities who are keystones of its institutions, 792
will be briefly described.

Chang-chia Hutukhtu

In 1642 a boy was born in the village of I-k'o. He was recognized as the reincarnation of a lama of Erh-ku-lung born into the Chang family (hence his name *Chang-chia*) in the Hung nai Valley, sixty *li* northeast of Hsining.[88] He started his religious career at the age of five at the small hermitage belonging to Erh-ku-lung called T'an rim tarpa. He entered the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in 1651. In 1661 he was sent by Sumpa to Tibet where he studied for twenty years in the most celebrated colleges, knitting friendly relations with the most renowned lamas of Tibet, and teaching and preaching in the colleges. He returned to Erh-ku-lung. In 1682 his beloved teacher, the great lama of Galdan, was invited by the emperor to Peking. Chang-chia, having scored successes in Tibet, seething with ambition, and eager to rub elbows with the rich and the great of the world, hurried off to meet his teacher in Kukunor. He obtained permission from his teacher to follow him on his trip to Peking as a "humble member of his retinue" (Huth, 276). In Peking the teacher recommended his learned pupil to the emperor.[89]

After being chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1687, [554]
the emperor called him to Peking in 1693. Sumpa, leading a big retinue, brought him to the capital. The

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[88] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4) : 4.

[89] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4) : 4, 1947. Much confusion has existed concerning the origin of the Chang-chia reincarnation. Mayers, *Chinese government*, Hong Kong, Kelly & Walsh, 1896, 3rd ed., No. 598 says: "The metropolitan Chang-chia, re-embodiment of a Hutukhtu, dispatched under the same title, to represent him near the Chinese court toward the close of the 17th century, by the Dalai Lama of that period, received with profound respect by K'anghsi, was assigned a residence at Dolon nor; by decree of Ch'ienlung, the successor of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, removed his residence from Dolon nor to the Yung-ho-kung, where state services were performed under direction of the Metropolitan who it is said wielded supreme religious sway."

Baron A. von-Stael-Holstein, Remarks on an XVIIIth century Lamaist document, Kuo-hsueh chi-k'an, 401, 1923, says: "K'ang hsi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to Peking, who refused, and Nag-dban blo-bzan cos-ldan (Chang-chia XIV) took the Dalai's place. He is supposed to be the incarnation of Mkhyen-rab-grags-pa hodzer, born in Chang-chia village, Kansu-Kukunor, hence the name Chang-chia."

Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos*, **48**: 499, 1953: says that according to a Mongol source the 5th Dalai Lama sent a lama, Che-sen Chorji to the Manchu emperor T'ai-tsung, with letters and presents. He was delegate to the city of Mukden in 1637. T'ai-tsung appointed the lama envoy to be his own chaplain, praising him as Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Heissig notes (note 132, p. 500) that the Mongol text about the appointment of the envoy as Chang-chia is wrong, because Chang-chia came first to the Manchu court at Peking in 1687.

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emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great 175
Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; 792
he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, "entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is annointed."[90] He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar.

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696–1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already 175
raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, 792
was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring 648
to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and 554
diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor.

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717–1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech' uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.[91]) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia

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[90] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti* 5 *p'ien*, 93.
[91] Petech, *op. cit.*, 157.

reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the 175
lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their de- 792
votion went so far as to make them struggle and com- 648
pete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang- 554
chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang- [778]
chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment [814] by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an 175
agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for 648
Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than 792
the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634: the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

[p. 30(A)]

Hastings, their chief, had shown him great favor, and 775
that the English allowed everyone to follow his re- 648
ligion unmolested. He closed with the suggestion that 792
the Grand Lama send some people from China to call on Hastings and to visit the principal temples of Bengal.[98] An interesting note encountered in Gunther Schuleman's work tells that the Chang-chia Hutukhtu asked the emperor to allow the Cossacks, prisoners of war interned in a camp at Albazin on the Amur, to invite a priest or pope, and to build a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas.[99]

The subsequent Chang-chia incarnations until the present one, the nineteenth, enjoyed the same position of eminence, privileges, and titles in Peking under the Empire and the Republic. At the beginning of the Republic, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu was sent to Mongolia to exhort the princes to recognize the newly founded Republic. He was nominated honorary president of the Committee of Mongol and Tibetan Affairs.[100] All these facts seem to bear out the assertion that the Chang-chia Hutukhtus of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung were towering personalities in the Lamaist world during the Ch'ing dynasty and under the Republic, and that they enhanced the prestige of Lamaism among the Monguors and the Tibetans of Huang-chung. When the Chinese Government fled to Formosa for fear of the Communists, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu accompanied it, and at present is living there.[101]

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[98] Schuyler Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 49.

[99] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178.

[100] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 11. von Stael-Holstein, *op. cit.*, 401, says: "During the Republic the titles of Chang-chia on his visiting card, support the evidence of the high favors bestowed upon him, 'High class adviser at the president's office; inspector of the Lamaist religious establishments in Peking, Inner Mongolia, Chahar, Wü-T'ai-Shan, Jehol, and Dolon nor,' " 1923.

[101] After completing the present study, I had the opportunity to read a most valuable work by Professor Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1954. It contains many complementary data concerning the Chang-chia incarnations, and their literary productions, excerpted from Mongol and Tibetan sources, making it possible to complement the information drawn from Chinese sources.

Chang-chia I (1642–1714), by order of Emperor Sheng tsu (K'ang-hsi period 1662–1722) came to Peking in 1693 with an imposing array of fifteen lama scholars, headed by Sumpa, chief of Erh-ku-lung. The emperor granted Sumpa the title of Jassak lama. (At that time Sumpa must have been Sumpa II, a minor Living Buddha.) Each of the fifteen other lamas was granted the title of Sula Blama. Chang-chia asked the emperor for this title as a favor to Sumpa (18). Chang-chia supervised the revision of the Kanjur (19), which had already been started in 1604–1634 by 40 scholars. He was ordered to instruct the Khalkha lamas in Dolon nor and the Mongol princes who attended his lectures, so he wielded a great influence among the princes and lamas in Mongolia (p. 20). In 1710 the emperor contributed to the foundation of the Tantra college in Erh-ku-lung (p. 28). Chang-chia I, a prolific author, died in 1714. The complete works of Chang-chia, written in Tibetan, were translated into Mongol and published in seven volumes in Peking in 1720 (pp. 58, 59). In 1729 there was published in

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T'u-kuan Hutukhtu

At the time when Chang-chia was at the height of 175
his glory, T'u-kuan, another eminent Monguor lama 792
of Erh-ku-lung, was on the way to becoming his equal.
With Sumpa and Chang-chia he was considered the

Peking a biography of Chang-chia which had been translated into Mongol, in four volumes, by one of his most intimate pupils (p. 63).

Chang-chia II (1717–1786) was still a boy, living in Huang chung, at the time of the revolt of the lamas (1723). The emperor, in order to save the life of the new Chang-chia incarnation, forbade the army commanders to kill boys under fifteen years of age. Chang-chia was brought to Peking at the age of nine (1724). He studied Chinese, Mongol, Manchu, etc., with the son of the emperor, the future emperor Kao tsung (Ch'ien lung period, 1736–1796), and the twelfth prince, who became his friends (64). In the friendship which existed between Chang-chia, the future emperor, and the Manchu prince lies the explanation for the tremendous influence wielded by Chang-chia in Mongolia and Tibet. It also explains the prodigious activity displayed by the board for the translation of Tibetan [814] books and the printing of Mongol books, of which Chang-chia was the chief. The Mongol lamas were elated by the publication of lamaist literature in Mongol, and the Mongol princes offered donations for its printing. Under the leadership of Chang-chia II, 99 lamaist works were printed in Mongol in Peking (p. 72). Chang-chia used his influence to change the trend of thinking of Mongol lamas, who were very fond of writing biographies of saints according to the pattern of the Geser epos (of Tibetan origin). He did not even allow the lamas to read or preserve the epos. It had not been reprinted in Peking since 1716 (87). However, he promoted the fusion (already started during the K'ang hsi period, p. 36) of the legendary Geser with Kuan ti, the Chinese god of war, and also their cult, making of them protectors of the country, to be worshipped by the Chinese military officials (p. 148). Chang-chia laid stress on the production of works in the dogmatic line (p. 106). The revision of the Kanjur was finished in 1720 (during the boyhood of Chang-chia II). From 1741 on, Chang-chia II, with a strong group of scholars, prepared the revision of the Tanjur which was finished in 1749 (p. 85). In 1780 the Panchen Lama attending the celebration of the seventieth birthday of the emperor in Jehol, composed a biography and eulogy in Tibetan of the fifteenth preexistences of Chang-chia II. It was translated into Mongol and was very popular in Mongolia and Tibet (p. 142), as was the biography of Chang-chia I, written by T'u-kuan Hutukhtu I (1737–1802) (p. 158).

The prodigious literary activity displayed during the lives of both Chang-chia I and II seems to have been notably reduced from the time of Chang-chia III on (1789–1846). In the meantime the Emperor Kao tsung, personal friend and protector of Chang-chia II died (1795); the Mongol princes had become less interested in offerings for the printing of books, and only a few lamas of Alashan continued to indulge in literary productions (165). In Heissig, not a name of a single [814] author of Kumbum is noted during or after the period of this prodigious literary activity. Only ten new productions are noted during the nineteenth century, together with a few reprints of former books (p. 159). After the death of Chang-chia III (1846) his biography was written, starting with those of his previous existences (p. 168). Heissig notes that he does not understand why, in the historical sketch of the life of Chang-chia I, the biography of Chang-chia I written by T'u-kuan I of Erh-ku-lung is omitted (p. 167). He wonders also why the famous *History of the diffusion of Lamaism in Mongolia* written by T'u-kuan II was not printed in Peking (p. 3) during the time Chang-chia II was the chief of the imperial committee. The explanation for these pertinent questions will be co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures 175 of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over 792 the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huangchung, during the Ch'ing dynasty.

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation [775] of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha T'u-kuan Nag dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang- [634] chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.)

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a dip- 175 lomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the 792 upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to 648 Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15.

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

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the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important 175
monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] 792
He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet 648
and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia.

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. [554]
In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung.

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects,* which he finished a year
before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this [114]
work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hsi-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic.

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, 175
the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. 792
Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia

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[106] Huth, *op. cit.,* 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.,* 178–9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.,* 287.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.,* 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* **50** and **51**, 1881–1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.,* 148–149.

[p.32(A)]

and T'u-kuan, and the obsession for reincarnations 175 which was in full swing at that time. Sumpa II must 792 have been one of the countless so-called "minor" Living Buddhas who were not listed on the register of Buddhas in Peking, and to whom the title of Hutukhtu had not been granted, but only the title of Jassak Lama. In the same way the minor Living Buddha Sumpa II must have headed the big retinue which brought the "minor" Living Buddha Chang-chia to Peking in 1693, who, only after his arrival at Peking, received his title and became the great Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Until that time Sumpa II, Chang-chia, and T'u-kuan were all "minor" Living Buddhas, living at Erh-ku-lung.

Sumpa III, still a minor Living Buddha, underwent a stiff course of instruction at Erh-ku-lung, under the direction of the celebrated T'u-kuan, after which he was sent for further study to Tibet. The young Sumpa must have been a very intelligent and studious pupil, for in 1726 he had already been appointed mK'ampo of the very celebrated SGoman College in aBras-spuns.[110] At the same time he must have been an unusually strong personality, a man of solidly set opinions, a special individual, a law unto himself, stern and uncompromising, for, in the teeth of strong opposition on the part of the lamas when civil war violently agitated the country, he ordered his lamas to keep quiet and to keep the strictest neutrality because, according to the principles of Buddhism, it is not allowed for anyone, particularly the lamas, to fight and kill.[111] The example was followed by the other monasteries.

Back in Huang-chung in 1730, he founded the monastery of Bshad-sgrab with eighty lamas, and admitted [316] fifteen more from the monastery (hermitage) of Bsam-gtang. He was called to Peking in 1737, and appointed by the emperor as spiritual guide of all the princes and chiefs of Mongolia. His prestige in Peking and Mongolia and the consideration the emperor had for him were extraordinary. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu, but he declined the offer, objecting that it was only fit for religious men aspiring [illegible] worldly glory. The amazed emperor answered, "You are a genuine religious man." In Peking he revised all the Tibetan books existent in China, and was rewarded by the emperor with the title of Erdeni Pandita.

In 1745 he was appointed the head of Erh-ku-lung. There, his first step was to scale down the splendor of his environment and to simplify his retinue. Sumpa was a learned man. He wrote the famous *History of the Rise and Downfall of Buddhism in India and Tibet.*[112]

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[110] Petech, *op. cit.*, 121.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Sarat Chandra Dass, Contribution to the history and religion of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, **58**, 1889. This study is preceded by the translation of the biography of Sumpa.

Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 147, after giving the content of the work of Sumpa, concludes: ". . . the work is composed with a wise and discriminating choice of older sources, pointing out for

[p.32(B)]

The Monguor Sumpa was a prolific author, who 175
wrote about all the important subjects related to the 792
curriculum of the studies of lamas. In the official records in Peking, preserved in the Li-fan-Yüan (1793), concerning the subsequent reincarnations of Sumpa, it is said they are indistinct and vague; that maybe they are recorded in Lhasa at the office of the Dalai Lama.[113]

The two Living Buddhas, Chie bzan and Wang, members of the board of five of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, led a sheltered life in their residences and nothing is recorded concerning them.

SUBSIDIARY LAMASERIES FOUNDED BY ERH-KU-LUNG

The influence exerted upon the country of Huang- 175
chung, and especially upon the country north of the 771
Hsining River, by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and 792
its three celebrated personalities was tremendous. The whole country, void of monasteries before 1600, became dotted with institutions of the Yellow Sect, depending on Erh-ku-lung. This unusual fervor for the diffusion of Lamaism seems to account for the disappearance of nearly all the small institutions of the Red Sect in that country, and their absorption into the fold of the Yellow Sect. The forces of expansion radiating from Ch'ü-t'an, Sha-ch'ung, and Kumbum situated south of the Hsining River, never before 1723 matched those radiating from Erh-ku-lung. The reason might be the lack of celebrated, learned, influential monks enjoying the favors of the emperors. This seems to account for the fact that at present a number of small Red communities and two important monasteries of the Red Sect still exist in the country south of the Hsining River.

Sumpa Damchos, the first administrator of Erh-ku- 175
lung, must have been a very capable and intelligent 792
man, devoted to the diffusion of Lamaism. He built his monastery on a solid foundation to prepare learned and pious men. He sent the best of his novices to Tibet to study, and organized studies at home. In the very beginning (1604) he founded the hermitage of Rgyud pagrva,[114] the monastery of Hsien-mi-ssu. In 1915 it was inhabited by 4 Living Buddhas and 160 lamas; it also established two colleges. He founded the hermitage of T'an-rim tarpa, where the young Chang-chia, at the age of five, started his religious life.[115] In 1651, when Chang-chia and T'u-kuan were still children, he sent the vice-administrator of Erh-ku-lung, Dongrub rgyamat'so, of Mongol origin, to Ta-

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each subject the main works. He intended to write an encyclopedia from which an idea could be had of the formation and spread of Buddhist thought. . . . It is a rich encyclopedia; harmonious composition is missing. Its value: it purports to be a *summa* of Tibetan historical traditions in which chronicles, myths, saints' lives, political changes, religious doctrines are met, in whose harmony the fortunes of the sacred doctrine of Tsung khapa become a reality and are developed."

[113] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4): 16.

[114] *Idem* 1: 45.

[115] Huth, *op. cit.*, 272.

[p. 33(A)].

t'ung wei, in order to build the later famous monastery 175 of Seerkok, Gadan Ch'osling, also called Kou-mang- 792 ssu, and Kuang-hui-ssu.[116]

The new daughter monastery flourished so fast as to have, before the revolt of 1723, two thousand lamas, and three colleges, among which the Tch'an-njid College was very renowned. Probably very soon Seerkok became an autonomous monastery. It developed to such an extent as to administer nine branches of its own and to have eighteen Living Buddhas within its walls.

Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the head of the lamasery, [554] celebrated for his *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia,* is known as the Tsanpo Nomun-khan of Amdo.[117] In 1727 he was sent by the Dalai Lama to court and received from the emperor the title of Hutukhtu. He was showered with gifts and a permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He became one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung.[118]

In 1693 the hermitage of Byan-c'ub existed, dependent on Erh-ku-lung. It was here that Chang-chia retired.[119] In 1705 T'u-kuan established the hermitage of C'os bzan where he retired with seven lamas.[120] He died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri, also dependent on Erh-ku-lung.[121] In 1711 the learned lama, Zabsdrun of Temma, near Erh-ku-lung, having been appointed teacher by Chang-chia [122] at the College of Tantras in Erh-ku-lung, founded a branch in Kan-ch'an-ssu which in 1915 had two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas.

In 1730 the Great Sumpa, on his return from Tibet, immediately founded the monastery of Bshad sgrub with eighty lamas and fifteen from Bsam gtang glin.[123] From 1604 until 1730 the building of hermitages and bigger monasteries was a real obsession among the prominent lamas and chiefs of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung and its branches. The records of the havoc wrought during the crushing revolt of 1723 by the Chinese army reveal more names of sacked and destroyed monasteries: Chie-Bzan with eight hundred lamas, the monasteries of Hsia, Ya, Ku, Chu-erh, Kan-chu-erh, and more than one thousand grottoes in the mountains; also the monastery of Shih-men-ssu with two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas; Ch'i-chia-ssu with two subsidiaries [124]; T'ien T'ang-ssu with two hundred lamas, three Living Buddhas,

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[116] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45; 3 (4) 10; 5: 13*a*.

[117] Sarat Chandra Dass, Brief account of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* 1 and 27, 1887. This work was translated into Russian in 1895.

[118] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.,* 123.

[119] Huth, *op. cit.* 277.

[120] *Ibid.,* 283.

[121] *Ibid.,* 288.

[122] *Ibid.,* 279.

[123] Sarat Chandra Dass, Life of Sumpa khampo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* 198, 1889.

[124] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46*b* and 47*a*.

three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries es- 175
tablished north of the Hsining River and in the pre- 792
fectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Suchou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723.

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[125]

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the [212]
patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[126]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of 771
those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes.

The country was at peace and the future filled with 175
the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus 579
on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crum- 771
bled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with

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[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372–374.
[126] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242.

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its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious 175
force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, 579
stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 771
villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chie-bzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum 300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple.

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.[127] The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.[128] During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma gr[illegible]tchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.[129]

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of [772]
Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered.

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[127] *Shih-lu, Yung-cheng*, ts'e 145, Chüan 14, 10.

[128] These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner: that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-ssu at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

[129] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46–48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu, Shih-lu, Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals* of the province, ch. 46; *55b–56a*, *56b*.

[p.34(B)]

WHAT WERE THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THESE CALAMITIES?

The troubles in Lhasa at the beginning of the eighteenth century ruined the influence and power of the Qoshot Mongols in Tibet who had founded the realm of the Dalai Lama.[130] bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, the grandson of Gushi, devising the unification of the Qoshots and the revival in his person of the imperial dream of Gushi, assumed the title of Dalai Hung-T'aichi, and broke into open rebellion against China in the eighth month (September, 1723).[131] His rebellion did not have much appeal for the divided Qoshots, and his power was greatly enfeebled. However, having obtained the tremendous support of the mK'ampo Nomun-khan, superior and chief of Kumbum and his nephew, who called all the lamas and Tibetans of Huang-chung to take sides with him, Bstan-dsin started invading the Chinese frontier and Huang-chung. 175

Since it was feared that Bstan-dsin would perturb Tibet, the Chinese authorities acted with great promptness.[132] Nien Keng-Yao, marshal for the pacification of the distant countries, and General Yüeh Chung-ch'i were provided with strict instructions to furnish a drastic example for the government which had so lavishly bestowed unusual favors on the lamas of Huang-chung. Nien Keng-yao disposed of 900,000 soldiers,[133] of whom 3,000 were soldiers of the Monguor T'u-ssu. He crushed the revolt by March, 1724, and made Bstan-dsin flee with but a few men. The example was drastic. The revolted lamas and tribes were severely punished, and the monasteries destroyed. In the reports of General Funingga, concerning the quelling of the revolt of bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, written in the Manchu language, and sent to the emperor from Hsining, not a single word is encountered about the part played by the Hsining lamas in the revolt or of the drastic repression by Nien Keng-yao, although Funingga three times had defeated the Moslems and Tibetans who helped bLo-bzan. It is not easy to guess the reason for this reticence.[134] 175 579

WHERE WERE THE THREE CELEBRITIES OF ERH-KU-LUNG AT THAT TIME?

The Chang-chia of that time, the second, was still a boy seven years of age. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung had hidden him at the monastery of Chiar-too. Nien Keng-yao, according to orders of Peking, brought the boy there. The whereabouts of T'u-kuan seem mysterious. In 1720 he was in Lhasa, vested with a diplomatic mis- 175

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[130] Here the consequences of the revolt relative to Lamaism are exposed. The political aspects are dealt with in Schram, *op. cit.*, 36–37.

[131] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82.

[132] *Ibid.*

[133] *Tung-hua-lu, Yung-cheng* 3: 29.

[134] *Berichte des Generals Funingga*, 18 *Jahrhundert*, 104–114, 1953.

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sion, but he seems to have been back in Peking before 175
1723. Perhaps he remained at the capital, because Huth [135] tells us that the emperor told him that he was worried about the events in Huang-chung. However, Schuleman says [136] that having been "condoned" he was "brought" to Peking and, a few years later (1729), thanks to his counsel and influence, the emperor allowed the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok to be rebuilt and he contributed to their reconstruction.[137] At that time Sumpa was still a minor Living Buddha, studying at Lhasa. In his later works Sumpa came to the fore with stern uncompromising character in the cause of principles, condemning the acts of lamas who killed human beings. In caustic and cutting terms he frankly put all the blame of these tragic events on the mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the chiefs of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, and on the lamas who caused the ruin of all the monasteries, the destruction of their property, and the death of their subjects, whom they had forced to take their side in the trouble. He defended the line of action and the policy of the emperor and did not put a shadow of blame on the drastic means used by the Chinese officers to crush the revolt.[138]

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT

The regulations governing Lamaism in Huang- 175
chung after the repression of the revolt were as drastic 792
as the repression itself. They show that the emperor 579
was bursting with indignation, at the appalling ingratitude of the monasteries, for he resolved in dead earnest to use an iron policy in handling the turbulent lamas. All the titles and seals of "teachers of the empire" (*kuo-shih*) and "Masters in Dhyana" (*Ch'an-shih*), granted to outstanding and meritorious lamas during the Ming dynasty, were recalled. The complement of lamas was not to exceed three hundred men for the big monasteries, and ten or more for the small monasteries. Lamas were not allowed to have more than one disciple.

Twice a year the Chinese officials were to investigate the monasteries for observance of regulations for which the abbots had been made responsible, to check the number of lamas, and to prevent the concealing of weapons. All the subjects of the lamaseries had to become subjects of the Chinese administration, and the land taxes accruing to the lamas had to be collected by Chinese officials. The subjects of monasteries became liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese for building cities, digging canals, and for the army. Trials and suits were brought under the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. Every year the Chinese officials had to grant

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[135] Huth, *op. cit.*, 285.
[136] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 179.
[137] Petech, *op. cit.*, 87.
[138] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 47.

[p. 35(8)]

each lama a certain amount of wheat and a fixed sum 175
of silver as compensation for the withdrawn taxes.[139] 792

The revolt of 1723 ruined the former wealth and 579
prestige of the lamaseries. The Chinese officials, who before 1723 had acted reluctantly as humble servants of the chiefs of the lamaseries for fear of the emperor, became their superiors. They acted as such especially in courts of justice, when monasteries and lamas accused each other, or when Chinese brought suit against monasteries. In the minds of the Chinese officials the prestige of Chang-chia and other Hutukhtus of Huangchung had slipped down many rungs of the ladder of glory. Hutukhtus had to remain in Peking where an honorable office was assigned to them, principally in order to make hostages of them and to prevent new revolts of lamas. Their powers were reduced to honorary dimensions. (The iron hand in the velvet glove!)

Regardless of the fact that titles and distinctions had been granted to the lamas, these drastic regulations were never revoked. Before 1723 the lamas were in the lap of luxury; they collected taxes on their fields which were tilled by their subjects. Now, this primary source of wealth vanished, and their land became of less value.

The boundaries of the extensive properties granted them by the emperors had never been accurately drawn. For the most part, monasteries had simply occupied land adjacent to their property, for at that time they were omnipotent. For more than a century, suits followed concerning the delimitation of the boundaries, which continually shrank, the Chinese officials being eager to sell land to Chinese.

The official revenues of the lamas were restricted to the collection of rents and to a pitifully small amount of wheat and a little silver granted to them yearly.[140] The officials soon substituted poor, cheaper barley for the wheat, and the weight of the grain received was below the official weight; silver was converted into cash and the profit on the exchange went into the pockets of the officials. The subjects of the lamaseries were now subject to the Chinese officials, under whose jurisdiction they were liable to corvée. They were thus withdrawn from the influence of the lamaseries. The once powerful lamas swallowed the bitter pill; evil times had befallen them. The consequences of the revolt of 1723, which had brought Lamaism to such a pass, still prevailed under the Republic.

CONDITIONS OF ERH-KU-LUNG IN 1910–1920

The number of lamas had shrunk from 2,500 in 1723 175
to 270. Only two of the four former colleges still ex- 792
isted. Eleven minor Living Buddhas inhabited the monastery. The temples, homes for lamas and Living Buddhas, and administrative buildings, had been re-

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[139] *Shen-wu-chi,* ch. 5, p. 12; *Ch'ing-shih-kao,* ch. 525; *Fan-pu,* 1, p. 7a; *Tung-hua-lu, Yung cheng, op. cit.* 4: 34–36.

[140] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 12a.

[p.36(A)]

constructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after 175
the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the 792
monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off.

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine 175
or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. 792
Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the 578
question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain.

Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The 175
money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction 792
of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, [578]
Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the re- 346
building of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.[141] Instead, he rebuilt his own monas-

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[141] It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was embellished 792
and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splendid 346
palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which occurred 175
in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met
with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch
monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community
of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand
the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably/ Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung having 175
a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

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friends of a lady Seerting was "visiting." He was 175
found the next morning hanging from a beam in his 792
palace. The loss of face had been too tremendous. 627
Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. 762
The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung.

After the withdrawal of Chang-chia Hutukhtu and 175
Sumpa Hutukhtu, T'u-kuan became the actual omnipo- 792
tent chief of the monastery, and acted and was recognized as such. Because it is customary to hush up dishonorable facts deliberately, Chang-chia and Sumpa were very seldom spoken about. It was a long time before I knew they had been the honored co-founders of the monastery.

The former glorious days of Erh-ku-lung vanished. There were no longer learned men at the monastery, which for a century had been the most celebrated center of learning in Huang-chung. Its renown for science passed to the now flourishing monastery of Labrang. The tragic departure of two of its glorious founders put a blight on it, and left a leaden atmosphere of gloom hovering over it. Troubles had succeeded each other. Kumbum, in the meantime, had made great strides, and became the most celebrated monastery of Huang-chung. It was visited by caravans of pilgrims from Mongolia and Tibet, which no longer cared for, or even paid a visit to Erh-ku-lung. Once at the top of the Lamaist world, Erh-ku-lung became a dim shadow of its former self, a second-rate monastery.

III. THE LAMASERIES IN HUANG-CHUNG

THE YELLOW SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 792

This chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung. The forty-two monasteries and branches situated north of the Hsining River were built according to the pattern of the old mother monastery of Erh-ku-lung. It seems obvious, therefore, to base the study on this initial institution, the most renowned and flourishing in former times. Because all the lamaseries of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung have been organized on the same pattern, a general view of Lamaist institutions can thus be obtained.

The study is founded on facts collected during a 121
stay of many years among the Monguors; which may give a better insight into the matter and reveal the trend of mind of the actors.

THE LAMASERIES OF HUANG-CHUNG INDEPENDENT OF LHASA

All the lamaseries in Huang-chung are autonomous 175
units, independent of Lhasa both in matters of admin- 792
istration and appointment of superiors, even in matters of doctrine. The Achia Lama defended the autonomy of Kumbum against the illegal interference of the Dalai Lama in 1908 by committing suicide. This energetic

revindication of the autonomy of Kumbum by Achia 175
sharply confirms the trend of mind of the Monguor 792
lamas concerning the autonomy of their monasteries.

Not a single lamasery in Huang-chung was founded by the Dalai Lama. Kumbum was founded in 1560 by the lama, Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, and his ten disciples of their own accord. The fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, sent a lama to invite the Monguors of Erh-ku-lung to be so kind as to build a monastery in their country.

Seerkok had been ruined and burned to the ground. The chief lama was beheaded in 1723. Seerkok having no more leaders, the Dalai Lama sent the learned lama, Tsanpo, who was studying at Lhasa, to rebuild the monastery. He bestowed upon Tsanpo the title of Nomum-khan, and recommended him to the emperor. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu. Lhasa no longer cared for Seerkok because it was autonomous, having its own chief.

The other monasteries throughout the whole region were institutions of the Red Sect, such as Ch'ü-t'an, which was founded by the lama San La. Most of them later adhered to the Yellow Sect but maintained their independence. However, some small ties seem to link the lamaseries of Huang-chung to Lhasa. Upon the death of the Hutukhtus of Huang-chung, Lhasa is asked to designate three names to be placed in the golden urn at Peking. One name is drawn from the golden urn thereby determining the new incarnation. However, the three names required for the new incarnation of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu are supplied by his friend, the grand lama of Labrang. The recognition of the incarnation of all the other Living Buddhas of Huang-chung who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu is attested to by the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung. Confirmation of this recognition by a minor Living Buddha is sufficient to establish the Living-Buddhahood of lamas deemed by their confreres to fulfill the requirements *ad hoc*.

For more than a century (1600 to 1723) the relations between the monasteries of Huang-chung and Lhasa had been really important, because of the imposing array of learned scholars of Erh-ku-lung who taught in the most important lamaseries of Lhasa, the lamas of Huang-chung who performed their studies at Lhasa, and the several diplomatic missions of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus sent by the emperors to the Dalai Lamas.

It is not hard to understand why Lhasa displayed so little interest in the monastery of Kumbum. The reason is that Kumbum was autonomous. The Third Dalai Lama paid a short visit to Kumbum for the first time in 1583. He insisted on the founding of a school for the explanation of the sacred texts. In 1723 the chief lama of Kumbum was the fateful mK'ampo Nomun-Khan, nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin. He received his title of Nomun-Khan from the Dalai Lama.

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From 1715 until 1720 the Seventh Dalai Lama was 175
confined at Kumbum by the emperor. Several visits 792
to Kumbum, made by the Dalai Lama or the Pan-chen Lama on their way to Peking, have to be added in order to complete the scheme of the relations between the two monasteries.

These facts suffice to prove that the relations between the lamaseries of Huang-chung and the Dalai Lama were of courtesy, friendship, and helpfulness, not those of subordinates with superiors. The independence from Lhasa of the lamaseries of Huang-chung is evidenced by their independence in managing their affairs. Each had its supreme chief, who was the recognized proprietor.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LAMASERIES

Each monastery has a supreme chief who is the recognized proprietor of the lamasery and the initial territory granted by the emperor or T'u-ssu for the establishment of the monastery. He is the proprietor of the temples and buildings built by him or his previous incarnations, and of the alms offered to it. In Huang-chung the supreme chiefs of monasteries are all Living Buddhas. At present some of them are minor, others major Living Buddhas. In Kumbum, Achia Hutukhtu is the supreme chief of the monastery; in Seerkok, Minchu-erh Hutukhtu. In Erh-ku-lung there are three supreme chiefs, Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa, but actually T'u-kuan Hutukhtu alone governs the whole monastery because of the historical circumstances already recorded. Minor Living Buddhas are Buddhas who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu, granted by the emperor, and whose name, usually, is not recorded in the files of the Li Fan Yüan in Peking. Minor Living Buddhas, in order to live inside the walls of the great monastery and to build a palace, must obtain the permission of the supreme chief; they are considered as guests of the lamasery. 792

The supreme chief is responsible before the Chinese administration for his subjects' crimes or murders committed in his monastery, or in his domain. He appoints the superiors of the various institutions established inside the monastery and in the branches. In time of trouble between the various institutions he tries to mediate. The extent to which he interferes with subordinates depends not on institutional regulations, but simply on whether he is personally a meddlesome character.

In monasteries the "community of the lamas" is a recognized autonomous unit, with its own wealth, properties (herds, fields, subjects, etc.), administration. It has its own right to bring suit in the Chinese courts, and to establish subsidiaries, whose administrators depend upon it and not upon the supreme chief. The community of Erh-ku-lung has three such subsidiaries: Ta-ssu, Hsiao-ssu, and Hsiao Erh-ku-lung. It was the lama community of Erh-ku-lung that brought suit 792 against Sumpa and spent the money for the trial, not T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, who would not interfere to prevent the scandal.

The colleges or faculties in monasteries are also recog- [794] nized autonomous units, with their own administration, properties, wealth, gifts, alms, and the right of suing in Chinese courts. I do not have any record of colleges possessing branches, but I suppose they do.

What bond binds these disparate elements together? Usually a Living Buddha who is the supreme chief of a lamasery is honored by the lamas, who know that he is always ready and braced to defend the rights of the institution, like Achia at Kumbum. When the communities or colleges meet with financial troubles, they know that the supreme chief uses his own wealth to make donations to them—"help provided makes sympathy wax." Nevertheless, each institution has its own administration, and the supreme chief does not interfere with its jurisdiction. The governing board of each institution confers with the supreme chief on the appointment of administrative officers and on such matters as the invitation to be sent when a new Fa-t'ai is needed.

If troubles arise the board of the autonomous institution takes advice from the supreme chief, and many difficulties are thus avoided. Finally, the supreme chief has the right to dismiss recalcitrant members, but if an entire group persists in standing up for its rights, and threatens to bring suit in the Chinese court or to quit the monastery, the supreme chief can rarely prevail against them. Nobody can prevent a lama or a group of lamas from quitting a monastery; no vows or bonds tie the lamas to any monastery. Undoubtedly, a great amount of kindness and devotion on the part of the supreme chief toward the members of the monastery is required. This is the real keystone of an effective administration in monasteries whose elements are so loosely united.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAMASERIES: MATERIAL ASPECTS

The administration of a lamasery is complex. In order to get a better insight into the matter the material aspects will be dealt with first, and then the religious and educational.

OFFICIALS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES

Most Living Buddhas who are supreme chiefs of monasteries live in retirement in their palaces, and are happy to entrust the entire material administration of the institution to a lama intendant, for whom the Tibetan term is Tsuordzi and the Chinese term, Hsiang tso. The few exceptions who are meddlers with the administration are well known throughout the country, and that kind of Living Buddha usually does not get very far with his intendant.

The appointment of the lama intendant is an act of overriding importance and far-reaching consequences. The supreme chief himself chooses a capable, loyal, and dependable lama and appoints him as Intendant of the Monastery—not of the community of lamas, or of the colleges. The appointment is indefinite and can be transferred to another lama at the will of the supreme chief. Usually, however, it lasts for a lifetime. The intendant is a man of confidence on whom the supreme chief relies completely. He occupies a large courtyard of the administrative buildings constructed in the center of the monastery. The instruments of torture displayed at the gate of his courtyard indicate that he rules its court of justice and is its chief executive by appointment of the proprietor of the monastery. 792

All important administrative questions of the monastery are discussed between the supreme chief and his intendant: the invitation of the Fa-t'ai's proposed by the boards of the community of lamas and of the colleges, the appointment of procurators and of lay intendants; matters concerning the subjects, the villages, and branches of the monastery; and troubles between lamas or within the community of lamas or the colleges. The intendant knows the lamas of merit and the intrigues, competitions and factions among them. He is invited to attend the meetings between the supreme chief and the boards of the colleges and the community of lamas. Because he is a man of experience, and usually of long residence at that particular lamasery, his advice is respected and usually followed. The ability to mediate is even more important than the manner of authority.

The intendant must be a man who knows the Chinese officials and the intricacies of the courts of justice. He sends the seasonal gifts to the Chinese officials, visits them to knit friendship with them, and knows who among them is well or ill disposed toward the monastery. He also knows the influential persons in the city who are friends of the officials, and who among them can be used if need be for the benefit of the monastery by exerting their influence upon the officials. He visits such people occasionally during the year to offer them gifts, in order to have a foot in the door when needed. Lamas know very well that "Justice cannot stand on its own feet, it needs to be supported and steadied." The intendant must be a man who can see farther ahead than ordinary naive and ignorant lamas and is able, therefore, to dissuade them from bringing lawsuits. 792 648

The intendant of the monastery alone disposes of all the wealth of the monastery (not of the wealth of the community of the lamas or of the colleges), its revenues, investment of capital, loans, gifts, and alms received (but not of alms given to the community of lamas or to the colleges). He has to cope with all the expenses of the monastery, and to try to increase the collection of gifts and alms. He is in charge of the provisioning of the monastery, and must see that the procurator secures 792

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the colossal amounts of butter that a monastery requires. In the temples of Erh-ku-lung eight butter lamps burn before the statues day and night. Each lamp consumes 180 pounds of butter every year, making 1,440 pounds for the eight lamps. The intendant told me that every year he had to provide a total of more than 3,000 pounds of butter for lamps, kitchen, and tea, and had to send lamas to Kukunor and Mongolia in order to collect this enormous amount. The intendant, in short, is the biggest cog in the wheel of administration. A visitor must inquire for him and pay him a visit, for it is he who cares for visitors and pilgrims of note.

It is easy to understand why it pays to have an experienced intendant, one who creates good relations with the outside Chinese world, acquires benefactors for the monastery, maintains control of the inside world of the monastery and has sufficient influence to be successful in the office, but these things cannot be realized in a few months.

The choice of an intendant who is capable is usually easy, but it is not so easy to find a lama who is, at the same time, capable and always loyal and dependable. Because so much power is vested in him it is not exceptional to encounter an intendant who is getting too big for his britches, stirring up trouble and acting as if none of the rules of the monastery existed for him. He disposes of so much wealth that it is almost impossible to control his financial transactions, and many intendants pile up their own comfortable fortune. They know all the liabilities and the debts of the monastery; they enjoy too much personal influence in Chinese administrative circles, and when things go wrong they can pull many wires in order to save themselves or even to harm the monastery. It is not easy to handle intendants, and it is more difficult to dismiss them, according to the sayings of experienced old lamas.

Next to the intendant comes the procurator (nirwa, in Tibetan; Takuan-chia, in Chinese). He also is appointed by the supreme chief of the monastery, in consultation with the intendant. The appointment is for three or five years, and may be renewed. The procurator supplies the personal needs of the Living Buddha, and under the supervision of the intendant he administers the internal affairs of the intendancy, including the board and jobs of servants, upkeep of buildings, stables, and equipment. He organizes the expeditions that go out to collect alms in Mongolia and Kukunor, keeps the accounts of the collection of revenues and of the corvées imposed on monastery subjects, and judges minor lawsuits. He discusses with the intendant the small loans granted to subjects or other people, dispenses the alms distributed to lamas. He is in fact the lieutenant and usually the protégé of the intendant, through whom he has obtained his appointment from the Living Buddha. If an intendant and his procurator are in collusion, they can easily dupe the supreme chief for a long time. [p.40(A)]

The procurator in turn has an assistant (htie wa, in Tibetan and erh kuan chia, in Chinese), who helps him at the job. He is appointed or dismissed by the Living Buddha at the same time as his superior. The servants under the procurators vary in numbers according to the importance of the monastery. At Erh-ku-lung there are thirty lama servants and ten lay servants.

Two lay intendants are also appointed by the Living Buddha. It is customary, after three years, that they present their resignation, which is accepted or refused. Their duties are more honorary than executive. When the Living Buddha goes on a journey they accompany him as masters of his retinue. Under the empire a blue button adorned the top of their hats. They take care of the impedimenta. Arriving at a destination at night, they take care of all necessities at the inn, and then take the visiting card of the Buddha to the Chinese of- [574] ficial of the village or the city. The intendant sends them to the city to bring gifts or to greet the officials when he is unable to do it himself, and he delegates them to mediate in the villages.

When the personal wealth of the supreme chief is great enough, he appoints a private intendant and procurator to administer it.

The minor Living Buddhas who are guests, living at the monastery, have their own administration. It is more or less personal, according to their wealth (subsidiaries, villages, herds), and according to their own propensity for caring for their business. Their intendants do not enjoy such influence as the intendants of the important monasteries.

The material side of the administration of the communities of the lamas and of the colleges is identical, consisting of an intendant and procurator chosen by them but approved by the supreme chief. Their intendants are important personages who care for the wealth of the community or the college, investment of capital, revenues of villages, sale or purchase of land, herds, relations with the Chinese administration, suits at the court of justice, judgment of the suits of subjects, care of the subsidiaries and gifts. These procurators provide the food used at the meetings, and supervise the upkeep of the buildings and temples of the community of lamas and the colleges, and of the palaces of their Fa-t'ai's. They manage the expeditions to Mongolia and Kukunor for the collection of alms, distribute the share of alms offered to the lamas of the community or to the colleges, and the collection of the revenues of lands. They are appointed by the supreme chief on the joint recommendation of his own intendant and the board of the community or the college. The intendant of a community of lamas or of a college is therefore always the protégé of the superintendent, although the administration of the community and of the colleges is at the same time institutionally autonomous.

These notes give an insight on the personnel used for the material administration of the Monguor monasteries and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792 the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792 the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 628
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

old Li would not budge. The whole community was 792
humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li 691
and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable 628
to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all
over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its 688
inmates. 792

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, 691
supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu, 578

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*) [1] by the 688
Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of 792
the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic 578
official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a 691
comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her.

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the 792
Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang- 578
ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two 628
Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the

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[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions 792
suggested to end the feud.[2] 578

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable in- 628
tendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies.

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their 792
death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their 428
entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased.

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and pro- 792
tested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went 691
to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in 428
order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and

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[2] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

[p.42(B)]

did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, 792
living according to his station, giving bribes and send- 691
ing gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, 428
in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok.

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away
the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail [697]
of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released.

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to 792
be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the 796
Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.)

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch 792
monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after 788
his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. [p.43(A)]

I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept 792
secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely 788
on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants.

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large 792
domains were granted to the monasteries to provide 423
their means of subsistence. In former times it was 643
easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a 434
sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[3]

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been
considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain [256]
mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain.

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[3] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) Tsan-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) Pu-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo.

[p.43 (B)]

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh- 792
ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 423
45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] [651]
Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents
from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants 434
of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kum-
bum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame"
barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received
from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his
herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was [643]
written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung
received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its
subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i
T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost
his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later
he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if
he could bring those who had revolted to submission.
He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as de-
scribed in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the 175
first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received 643
wide domains so that it was able to build the two large 792
branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* 423
of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty 434
large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and
Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the
minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted
by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased
themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to 175
understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 651
could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, har- 792
bored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after 434
the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection
of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the
Annals of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that
". . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put
an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This
text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the
Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss
of these enormous revenues impoverished the monas-
teries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very
proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to
some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent 792
of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner 427
received them; but it was customary that the govern- 651
ment receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants, 434

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[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.

[5] *Ibid.*, 143.

[6] *Ibid.*, 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, 143.

[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

[p.44(A)]

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared 792
or became insolvent, was responsible for the 427
tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had 651
to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany 434
the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys
carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the [492]
journey to the granary started, however, each tenant
had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas
and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity [804]
of which was greater than the official one; this
enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over
the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive 792
territories, contain a large part of waste and 423
untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The 651
industrious intendants developed these properties by
means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to [311
till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, 312]
has always remained the same as the initial amount, because 434
the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, 792
a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed 434
in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, 233
smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery 792
proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four 434
oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, 256
Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative busi- 792
ness. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed [438]
on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still 434
enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are 651
exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzŭ Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha.

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests— 792
Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce 434
in the northern part of the province, forests are an im- 314
portant source of revenue.

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has 792
been recorded. For many years it was a source of large 434
revenue, which finally caused its ruin. [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous 505
Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers 175
across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma?

For many years during the period of my stay, the 792
young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most 334
talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started

[p.45(A)]

among the intendancies and the impoverished lamas. 792
Saddled with debts, and his plans not working out, he 334
was compelled to give up his ambitious dreams and
revert to the ancestral raft.

It is said that this holy man enjoyed the gift of bilocation. The people still state that many times many people saw him directing the shifts of blacksmiths and carpenters on the river, and at the same time saw him in ecstatic rapture in the temple.

It was after his financial collapse that he started the trouble with the disciple of his deceased intendant, which lasted for seven years, in order to retrieve his fortunes, only to land in jail in Seerkok. Finally, having debased his name and position of authority, he moved to one of his affiliates in the region of Kan-chou, where he was still living in 1920. Tenma was a typical figure in the world of Living Buddhas in 1910–1920.

COLLECTION OF ALMS IN FAR-OFF COUNTRIES

Expeditions to far-off countries are an important 792
source of revenue. They last for several months and 434
are organized by the various intendancies in their own 431
behalf. Sometimes the supreme chief of a monastery accompanies the expedition. In 1914 T'u-kuan went to the region of the Yellow Tibetans (Uigurs) living around Su-chou. He left on the second of the second moon and was back at Erh-ku-lung in the tenth moon, with 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. He seemed to be very happy when I visited him after the trip. During the troubles in 1940, T'u-kuan went to Mongolia, among the Urats, and traveled for four years. He visited me at Man-huei in Hou T'ao. He had a lot of trouble entering Hsining with 300 horses and 200 loaded camels because he was suspected of having had connections with the revolting Mongol, Te wang.

When I was in Kumbum in 1912 I met a returning expedition from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 3,000 sheep, 260 horses, 140 cows, and loaded with butter, wool, skins, and yak hair. All the butchers from Hsining rushed to Kumbum to buy cheap cows and sheep. In December, 1914, I met a caravan of Kumbum returning from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 6,000 sheep, 150 horses, and 200 cows. On the way they had
lost 40 horses. They went to Hsining in order to [127]
bring suit against the chief of the tribe on whose territory the horses had been lost. The Amban settled the trouble in one session. He ordered that a kettle containing boiling oil be brought to him. Then he ordered both groups to grasp a one dollar piece he had thrown in the boiling oil. The lamas prostrated, apologized and implored for mercy, but the Tibetan chief tucked up his sleeves and went straight to the kettle. The gesture was sufficient for the Amban. The lamas received two hundred lashes, and were put into jail until a fine of two hundred dollars was brought to the court. [p.45(B)]

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case 792
of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back 434
from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such ex- 792
peditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things 484
used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry 434
prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, 443
wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by
their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by [437]
barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the 792
monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the 434
merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do busi- [651]
ness on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per 792
cent interest is the most important source of revenue 434
for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more 426
remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

pose of the amount of money provided from the various sources noted in this section. 772 434- 426

Loans are made to Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese, to shopkeepers, merchants in the city, in fact to anyone who provides serious guarantors. Two guarantors are always required, a lama and a layman.

The Chinese who lend money at the same legal rate of 30 per cent interest are very, very rarely entirely successful in this financial operation, and they know it before they start. After the third year, when the capital is nearly recovered, troubles usually start and new provisions are accepted for a smaller interest, or the problem is brought to the Chinese court of justice, which inevitably decides in favor of the poor party. In China it is the custom for the judge to decide in favor of the borrower and for the richer party to give up some of its rights and benefits. However, the inexorability of the lamas in collecting interest is an attested fact. The proverbs and sayings all over the country go: "*Chiu ming ti k'o-wa, sha-jen ti lama,*" meaning "even merchants who are so eager for money, save the life of a miserable man, but the lamas kill him"; also, "*lama chang nan la, p'o-niang chang nan la,*" meaning "It is not easy to be indebted to a lama, not easy to be indebted to a woman," because nobody can withstand the curses of a woman or the eagerness of lamas. Lamas are noted as loan sharks all over the country.

The people approach the lamas to borrow money and grain, because the people of the country are poor and the lamas dispose of money. On the twenty-fifth of the twelfth moon, the interest is due. In the evening, on the fifth of the moon, groups of young lamas gather in all the streets of the monasteries crying at the top of their voices that the interest has to be brought in by the twenty-fifth. They continue this crying for several days. With this notice the lamas' guarantors set out to find the persons whom they have guaranteed, as well as the layman guarantors, their partners. If they cannot find the hiding debtor, then on the twenty-fifth the lama is tied and lashed with ruthless severity until he pays the debt himself. If the debtor and layman are subjects of the monastery, they undergo the same rough procedure. No mercy is shown until the last farthing is extorted. Subjects do not dare bring suit against the lamas at the Chinese courts, because they cannot stand up against such a rich and influential opponent as the intendant. The lamas try to lend, if possible, to their subjects, to subjects of other monasteries, to T'u-ssu, or rich people who can provide a serious guaranty.

In the Orient, wealth and money are the mightiest factors of influence and power. In this respect the regulations of 1723, which were aimed at undermining and undoing the influence and power of the monasteries, failed almost completely. The monasteries are still the most influential and powerful institutions in the country.

[p.46(B)]

SUBJECTS OF THE LAMASERIES

792 This matter fits into the frame of the material administration of the monasteries. One of the most important duties of the intendants is the administration of the subjects of the monastery, of the community of the lamas, or of the colleges.

792 651 After the revolt of 1723, when the lamas had compelled their subjects to rebel together with them, all their subjects were withdrawn from them and made subjects of the Chinese officials. The taxes, formerly imposed by the monasteries on their properties for their own benefit, were imposed by the Chinese administration for the benefit of the empire and collected by the Chinese officials, and, because all Chinese subjects were liable to corvées, the newly acquired subjects were made liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The subjects of the monasteries became, at the same time, liable to the Chinese courts of justice, and the old right of the monasteries to judge their subjects was abolished. All the ties which bound the subjects to the monasteries vanished and the possibility of a new revolt stirred up by the monasteries was eliminated. The extensive properties of the monasteries were not confiscated, however, so the people who tilled their fields were still obliged to pay rental in return for the use of the fields, in the same way that rents were paid to other proprietors. This was the status which was decreed after 1723 and which still prevailed in 1910–1920.

KINDS OF SUBJECTS

792 The monasteries in Huang-chung, before 1723, seem to have possessed two kinds of subjects: the tillers of their fields and some Tibetan tribes possessing their own territory, which for an unknown reason had become their tributaries. This latter category, according to the regulations of 1723, was entirely set free from all obligations toward the monasteries.

The origin of the status of the first category of subjects of the lamaseries, the tillers of the soil, is better known, because in the *Annals* of Hsining ch. 15, pp. 13*a* and 13*b*, the author complains that before 1723 a great many families of barbarians had gone over to the lamaseries, leaving their own chiefs in order to become their subjects, and that accordingly the influence and wealth of the lamaseries had greatly increased.

Today, among the subjects of the lamaseries, the Monguor families are the most numerous; then follow Tibetan and a few Chinese families. This fact seems to suggest that, of old, the Monguors constituted the bulk of the subjects of the lamaseries.

622 In Part I of this study (p. 60) it was explained that the subjects of the T'u-ssu could never abandon their clan chief, and that, because the T'u-ssu were the wardens of the marches and had soldiers, the Chinese officials had to prevent their subjects from abandoning them. Consequently a subject of a T'u-ssu, in order

to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of 622
military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes—a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of 792
subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of 566
their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

Farmers Offering Oil and Pigs

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid 792
their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the 427
farmers were organized in villages, and each village 566
continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendancy whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendancy a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This [585]
consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendancy on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendancy.

[p. 47 (B)]

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which com- 792
pels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas 571
of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour.

The intendancies urge the observance of this service 792
even by former tributaries, but it does not always 571
work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary 796
of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the 578
intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy.

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects 792
of the intendancies are ordered by their respective in- 466
tendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées.

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a 792
long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the 484
chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 651

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a 792
couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. 484
The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the mon- 651
astery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the 792
Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to 691
have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery 792
of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good rela- 692
tions with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the 792
Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of 692
retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable 661
to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries. [p.48(B)]

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

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The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride. [168 648]

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed 792 175 692 [643]

[p.49(A)]

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and 792
Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of 175
torture are still displayed at lama courts), and 692
imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées.

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the 792
groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth 175
flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, 425
the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built 426
oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country.

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and 792
in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not 175
be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the 651
tumult of the world, were in olden times the most 427
animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at
the monasteries. They were attended by all the people [554
of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, 413]
singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun

[p. 49 (B)]

products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and cor- 792
vées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [68B]
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

[p. 50 (B)]

However, no compulsory religious instruction was pro- 175
vided for adults or children in order to make the sub- 792
jects more fervent, and no schools or charitable institu- 794
tions existed. The subjects were never compelled to attend ceremonies in the temples, for only lamas recite texts in temples, and temples are not what we are accustomed to calling churches. Finally, the religious activities imposed on the subjects reflected more a material than a spiritual interest, and bound them closer to their chiefs.

If we take into account the period of incredibly rapid 175
increase in the founding and branching out of monas- 792
teries, the number of lamas must have been tremendous. Certainly the revolt of 1723 and its drastic suppression largely prove this assertion. Necessarily, the absorption into the lama communities of a large proportion of the male population of the country must have adversely affected productivity. Men who became lamas were not only withdrawn from production, but had to be fed by the depleted population. It is easy to understand that in such circumstances trade and industry could by no means develop and flourish. The large groups of lamas did not produce anything; they merely consumed the production of the country and hoarded its wealth. Their economic role was simply that of consumers, and so the economy of the country was necessarily agricultural and limited to its needs.

The same conditions existed in the two cities of Huang-chung and in the garrisons. There the soldiers and the relatively feeble population consumed what the colonists could produce. Only later on, when peace was restored, communications with the capital of the province assured, and trade had become possible, could the cities and the whole country develop and emerge from the former limited agricultural economy—an outlet had been found for the products of the country. The farmer, assured of the possibility of selling as much as he could produce, started producing to the peak of his capacity. These conditions seem to explain the deadly stagnation prevailing in the country from 1368 to 1723.

These seem to have been the conditions of lama Buddhism between 1368 and 1723 in Huang-chung, the privileged legal position of the temporal and spiritual chiefs of large and small lama institutions, the important role played by the monasteries, Nang-suos and Karwas, centers of the public and private life of the country, the bursting activity displayed inside the walls of the monasteries, the conditions of the subjects of the monasteries and the economic consequences arising from the tremendous number of the male population which had become lamas.[*]

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[*] H. H. Vreeland, 3rd, Mongol community and kinship structure, *Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1954. After [113]
the completion of the present study, there appeared this outstanding study dealing with the Khalkha Mongols of the Narobanchin territory, the Chahar Mongols of the Taibas pasture and the Dagor Mongols of the Nonni River valley. The study

BRANCH LAMASERIES 175

792 It has been noted how at Erh-ku-lung there existed from the very beginning a real passion for the founding of hermitages, which began as affiliates and later became independent monasteries. Not only did the three founders of the monastery found their own branches next to those of the monastery, but the lesser Living Buddhas, the communities of lamas, and the colleges followed their example. According to the superiors of the monastery, and the general testimony in the country, forty-two branches proceeded from Erh-ku-lung. Several times prominent lamas told me that the founders of branches had a predilection for them at the time of their founding, but later they invariably became a burden.

ADMINISTRATION AND OFFICIALS 175

792 794 The first act of the founder of a branch was to appoint a rector, Nirwa (Nerpa), as chief of the new community. At the beginning, when the group of lamas was still small, he held the entire authority in his own hands. Later on a lama disciplinarian, Ge-ko, a precentor, Um-dse, and an adviser to the rector were added, and the administration was complete. For a very long time, the rector also had the function of procurator. The rector and the disciplinarian were appointed by the founder of the subsidiary for a three years' tenure of office. Later, precentor, adviser, and procurator were chosen by the community. The rector and the disciplinarian were invited to the mother house to receive their appointment. The whole community of the branch had to come to the mother house in order to invite and to acknowledge the new authorities by

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concerning the lamasery of Narobanchin, based on data provided to the author by the Dilowa Hutukhtu himself, co-proprietor of the institution, gives a unique insight into the nature of a lamasery, situated in the open Gobi desert, among nomadic tribes insulated from the impact of the Chinese civilization and culture, and in its adaptation to the tribal, social and economic environment. The history of the founders is noted, the way the banner princes granted territories, allowed their subjects to abandon them in order to become plain subjects of the lamasery, the legal status of the lamasery and its subjects, the rendering of justice by the lamas, the interesting administration of the temple wealth and property, the means of subsistence of the subjects, the levies, services, and corvées imposed by the lamasery, etc. This study sheds light on what the social and economic conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries must have been before the revolt of 1723, and is a perfect foil to the actually existing conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries. This study for a long time will remain a standard work in this special field. The study of shamanism among the Dagor Mongols (p. 250) is a very valuable contribution to the subject of shamanism among the Mongols; many new facts and peculiar conceptions concerning souls, death, and spirits are secured and their impact upon the family life exposed. The peculiar position and behavior of the shamans in the Dagor society is very instructive.

The chapters concerning the social organization, economic life, and kinship and property structure of these tribes are of equal importance, but they do not fit into the frame of this study.

[p. 51(B)]

prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. 175
They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was 792
killed and a dinner enjoyed. 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess 175
a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, 792
assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was 571
not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide 794
a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder.

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey 175
or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, 792
the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. 484
When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan,
traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed [554]
the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes.

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES 175

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The 792
tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao- 794
ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 571

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tragic events seldom happen, independence is never 175
acquired without friction between the daughter and 792
mother houses. Usually the difficulties begin with the 794
crucial problem of the delivery of the share of revenue 571
required by the intendancies of the founders. The separation usually occurred, according to old lamas, at a time when the mother house was involved in inextricable difficulties and unable to assert its authority, or when the founder was still in the prime of life.

The obsession for having Living Buddhas started in Erh-ku-lung in the second half of the seventeenth century with the incarnations of the founders. Very soon some of the subsidiaries endowed themselves with their own Living Buddhas, partly for decorative reasons and partly in anticipation of a possible rupture with the founders. These Living Buddhas eventually seized a favorable opportunity provided by circumstances to declare their independence and take possession of the territory formerly allocated to the subsidiary. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that subsidiaries, which had developed to the point of having several hundred inmates, or two thousand as in Seerkok, split away (from the mother house) when they had capable authorities, or when the intendancies of the mother house were too exacting and greedy on the question of collecting a share of the revenues of the subsidiary. At such a time the veneer of filial devotion easily scales off.

This was the case with the affiliate of T'ien-T'ang with its seven hundred lamas, two Living Buddhas, and three colleges. Its founder, T'u-kuan, squeezed to the wall, understood the gravity of the situation and made the best of a bad bargain, granting independence after it had been declared, provided the duty was acknowledged of presenting a yearly allocation to the intendancy of one of the Living Buddhas of T'ien-T'ang, the teacher in a former incarnation of T'u-kuan (this was a delicate gesture), together with the right to graze his herds on the domain of the new monastery. The conditions were gratefully accepted and good relations between the former daughter and its mother house continued.

The branch of Ta-ssu, depending on the community of the lamas of Erh-ku-lung, had troubles with the intendancy of its founder concerning the crucial question of the exaction of revenues. It happened that one of the lamas of Ta-ssu, scion of the noble family of the Lu T'u-ssu, died. The shrewd lamas invited the supreme chief of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an in order to inquire whether the departed lama had or had not been of the stuff of which Living Buddhas are made. The intelligent Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an easily understood the meaning of the fervent lamas and declared that the noble lama was already reborn in the family of the Prince of Alashan, and it happened that the wife of the noble Lu T'u-ssu was a princess of Alashan. This was a double blessing sent by the Buddha! Independence was immediately declared, backed by the in-

[p.52(b)]

fluential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The community of Erh-ku-lung was powerless. 175 792 794

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder. 571

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of $10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506–1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Shachün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army con- 175 792 701

[p.53(A)]

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. 175 However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were 792 in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the 701 Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries 005 and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in 643 Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had 175 established three important lamaseries and granted vast 792 domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the 622 monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

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[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

[p. 53 (B)]

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had 643
appointed the administrator, who was killed. 175

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i 792
T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them 622
to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMASERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS 792

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer 175
the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the 177
revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization.

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

gin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family 173
starts losing its identity, no more children become 177
lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no
more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a
Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools [871]
with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert
a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend
Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was pro- 175
vided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans 792
of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-t'ang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia, and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910–1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'ü-t'an, and T'ien-t'ang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,[1] it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

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[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, 98, New York, Century, 1891.

[p.54(B)]

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are 175
encountered in publications on the subject.[1a] Concern- 792
ing Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and la- 162
maseries (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time.

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.[2] At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nien-pei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the [4-31] lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000.

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas

[1a] W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

[2] The census (1729–1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nien-pei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals* of Hsining 16: 6*b*, 9*a*, 10*a*, 12*a*. [p. 55 (A)]

who attended the morning ceremonies in the central 175
hall never exceeded 800 or 900, although all the inmates 792
of the monastery had to attend the exercise. This fact 162
led me to make inquiries, and this was the explanation given by the officials of the monastery, and confirmed by officials of other monasteries where the same rule exists. In 1779, only fifty years after the destruction of the lamaseries in Huang-chung and the fixing of the official census, the Panchen Lama on the way to Peking, where he died from smallpox, remained for a few [164]
months at Kumbum. "In Amdo were 50,000 lamas in all the monasteries whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one 'san' to each monk."[3] To people conversant with the geography and history of the country, this number seems fantastic.

The most recent and reliable data concerning the figures of the lamas in the province of Ch'ing-hai were secured by Mr. Wang Wen-han in 1948.[4] He made his inquiries on the basis of the recent official census provided by the Min-cheng t'ing or "people's (local) government office." Since the establishment in 1928 of the province of Ch'ing-hai, which encompasses the whole of Kukunor, Yu-shu, and large territories around Kui-te and Ta-t'ung hsien, formerly considered as barbarian regions, 13 subprefectures have been established, in which there are 235 lamaseries having 26,534 lamas. In the remote barbarian Yu-shu only there are 99 lamaseries with 10,665 lamas. The entire population of the new province being 1,346,320 inhabitants of which 683,802 are males and 662,518 females, the proportion of lamas should be one for every 26 males. However, the computation is very confused, because of the lack of figures for the lama population in minor lamaseries and the addition of new territories, and it is impossible to find out the number of lamas in the former prefecture of Hsining, on which my own computation was based. The article by Mr. Wang gives a better insight into the number of lamas and their proportion in relation to the entire male population of the province, and one which is notably smaller than the proportion usually cited by travelers. Although all census returns are always an estimate, especially in the Orient, the study by Mr. Wang is very interesting, because for the very first time in history we have an approximate census of the population and of the lamas in 1948.

CENTERS FOR RECRUITING LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

San-ch'uan, the fertile territory assigned to the Li 175
T'u-ssu during the Ming period, is renowned for the 792
recruiting of lamas. A saying goes: "*Shan-hsi ti k'o-wa, San-ch'uan ti lama*" meaning, "Shan-hsi [province] is the most prolific in merchants, and San-ch'uan

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[3] Sarat Chandra Dass, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 28, 1882.

[4] Wang Wen-han, Ch'ing-hai Meng-Tsang jen-ming chih tsung-chiao hsin-yang, in the review *Pien-chiang t'ung-hsun*, No. 1: 1 and 2, 1948. [p. 55(B)]

is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of 175
old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to 792
Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan there also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of [578]
lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the [608]
monastery in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery.

[p.56(A)]

Many parents with only one boy pass through a bad 175 time when a lama friend comes to ask for him as his 792 disciple. Once in a while the lamas are very exacting and do not hesitate to predict the most terrible calamities in case of refusal. In 1913 the old man Chao of Lu-men-chih Valley who was seventy years of age was, after twenty years, still under the influence of the prediction of calamities made by a lama of Erh-ku-lung in the event he should refuse to give up his son.

A rich old Tibetan named Pao, father of an only son of six years, told me how the Living Buddha of Hsien-mi-ssu came to ask for his boy. The old man had begged the Living Buddha, prostrated himself and cried with his wife before him, for days in succession, and proposed to offer his beautiful mule, the best in the whole country, but to no avail. On the one hand the promises of blessings, and on the other the prediction of calamities, caused him to make the painful decision to offer his son.

There are children smitten with severe disease who are dedicated by their parents to the service of Buddha in the event they should recover, and children sent to the monastery by parents of large families. Very often it is difficult for these parents to find a lama who will assume the duty of caring for them, and arrangements are made between the lama and the parents concerning the support and the upkeep of the child. The bonds which tie such pupils to their masters are looser, and when they are able to stand on their own feet they try to find a way of making their own living. These are the usual ways of getting pupils. In all these cases the parents, not the children, make the decision for them to enter the monastic life. No question of vocation or willingness to devote a lifetime to the service of Buddha is considered by the children. The vocation consists of the decision by the parents and the readiness of a lama to accept the child as a pupil.

Children who are physically deformed or disabled, or children of butchers or notorious thieves are not allowed to become pupils. It is also said that children who do not care when a raven comes and sits near them are not fit for the monastic life.

However, I met an exception in Chie-bzan in 1913. A Tibetan named La, after being married for two years, living uncongenially with his wife, sold his horse, cows, and sheep, and, leaving a couple of cows and calves to his wife, became a lama at Chie-bzan.

PUPIL AND MASTER

NOVICE

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792
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On an auspicious day, a father arrives at the monastery with his son. The boy presents to his master lama the traditional scarf of felicity, a couple of packets of Chinese noodles, and prostrates himself nine times. The boy receives the name of his master, for lamas are not supposed to have any family. The adoption is finished, master and novice constitute one family, and

[p.56(B)]

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. 175
By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice 792
is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, 571
who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the cere- 792
mony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In [782]
the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng[5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee.*[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teach- 792
ing him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and 874
keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to

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[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-bzun—Gelüng.

commit the texts to memory, punishments being in- 792
flicted if he is slack in his scholastic duty. No haste 874
or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil.

SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second 782
vows and is called *Gelüng*. According to the rules, the 792
vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice.

The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naïvely admitted that in former times a [484]
lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge.

After the second vows, the scientific and religious 792
education is complete. The lama can then read a text 874
more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guid-

ance is provided by an experienced spiritual director 792
and adapted to the needs of turbulent young people. 874
There is no novitiate. A young lama's director is his own master, who himself has received no scientific or religious training. The pupil tries to imitate the older lamas. He listens to their conversations and observes their actions. This lack of real education makes an experienced man pause.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PUPIL AND MASTER

The Wendee, after becoming a Gelüng, does not leave 792
his master, but continues to serve him to his dying day. 571
A lama enjoys the highest respect and love of his family, especially when he is young. His master allows him to make frequent visits to his parents, for it pays him to do so. The saying goes that lamas are quite like married girls. When they visit their family, they take nothing with them and ride an empty horse, but when they leave their father's home their horse is loaded with gifts. The lama never returns from his parents without having received some clothing from his mother, having his clothes mended, and having received some sweet rolls, meat, and pickled vegetables. His parents slaughter a sheep or kill a pig, and a piece of meat is sent to the lama and his master. The master enjoys these small gifts and they help smooth the relations between master and pupil, who have to live congenially together, enduring each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. The intelligent master tries to cultivate good relations with the family of his pupil because this will help to make the pupil obedient and avoid friction between them.

Old, experienced lamas told me often that the problem of the pupil is of overriding importance and is a nightmare to many lamas. The young people now are not as unsophisticated as in old times. The master, an uneducated man, who has never learned to restrain his own passions and temperament, is usually not a man qualified to educate a wild pupil, but the fault does not
always lie only with him. The stumbling block in the [867]
education of pupils is to be sought, not usually in the home of the master, but outside the monastery, where the pupil goes every day for hours on end, to collect fuel or graze the animals. Boys of seven, eight, and ten years of age meet with teenagers, already thoroughly corrupt, who pervert them and plant in their hearts the seeds of evil weeds which are likely to thrive for the rest of their lives.

Among these groups of young lamas all the short- 792
comings of the masters of the monastery are discussed, 867
the pitiful conditions of the pupils, the disappearance of 571
pupils, the accusations at the Chinese courts of masters by their pupils, the successful removal of a part of the master's wealth by the pupil. These young folk listen all night long to the conversations of the older lamas, who know, to the last detail, all the scandals of the lamas and of the monasteries of the whole country, who

talk of commerce and business deals, and about the 772
interesting places they have visited. In this way the 867
youngsters come to know about a great deal of un- 571
edifying material which they discuss, with relish and interest, when they meet outside the monastery, and so the spirit of commercial adventure is cultivated in them, and the passion to see places and to wander. This poisoned atmosphere, woven around them, has a pernicious bearing on their careers. In the long run, the young lama receives his education outside the monastery in the groups of unrestrained young lamas, and in the evening at the home of his master when old lamas talk unguardedly. In the Orient there are no secrets.

In 1913 I was a guest at the monastery of Hsien-mi. One night the rich intendant of the community of lamas arrived after an absence of three weeks. His two disciples, sixteen and nineteen years of age, had disappeared after being beaten by him for insubordination. Finally, he had found them at the monastery of Shih-men, five days distant from Hsien-mi. By dint of promises he had succeeded in bringing them back home. Two days later I arrived at the monastery of Chu-erh. Two pupils had just undergone a terrible ordeal. One had stolen 50 taels from his master and the other had concealed the stolen money. Punishments were inflicted on both the thief and his accomplice with ruthless severity.

The old rector of the branch of Hua-Yüan-ssu, depending on Erh-ku-lung, had borrowed from a rich Monguor 200 taels. Trusting his pupil, thirty-six years of age, he had sent him with the money to the Monguor. Three months later the Monguor again asked for his money. Then the pupil disappeared and the rector had to pay the sum again. A year later the pupil returned and apologized. The rector was happy to see him again.

An old, sick, asthmatic lama, a friend of mine, came to get some medicine. His young pupil, sixteen years of age (this was his second disciple), had come back after wandering for a year. The asthmatic old man had implored him not to act in that way any more, and had promised to give him a horse and to defray all the expenses of a trip to Lhasa, after he reached his twentieth year of age.[7]

The disappearance of the young lamas is the greatest concern of the old lamas. Punishment is enough to make them leave. Often two or three young men, lured by adventure, decide to abandon their masters and disappear, taking their leave for months or years. The masters, not knowing whether they will return, cannot make provision to search for another pupil, for in case a master's pupil should return, and in the meantime another pupil had been taken on, suit could be brought in the Chinese courts by the former pupil to obtain the wealth of the master and a definite separation.

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[7] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 36, 37, more about this matter.

Even this kind of trouble is mild enough. It is more 772
serious when the pupil accuses his master in the Chinese 571
court, alleging that living with his master is impossible, 691
and demanding a part of his wealth. Such impudent acts of audacity happen from time to time. I asked the subprefects of Tat'ung and Nien-pei, and the Amban, about the reasons given for such accusations. All three told me, "Father, you do not know the secrets of the monasteries. The alleged reasons are always, in the long run, the same as those used by the daughters-in-law when they accuse their fathers-in-law."

A lama cannot stand having such accusations put on public display by an unscrupulous pupil who aims at getting hold of his wealth, for even if he wins the suit, his entire wealth has vanished. The pupil knows perfectly well how much his master is worth, and tells the officials and the underlings of the court how much they can expect to benefit. Such a suit makes the court happy. An intelligent lama, therefore, always tries to invite influential people to mediate the quarrel and to work out an agreement, consenting to give up a part of his fortune and to separate from the pupil. The lama can then begin again with another pupil, while he still has something to his name.

The life of a lama is not a bed of roses. Even if he 772
should be an affluent individual, insecurity over the at- 571
titude of his uneducated pupil, fears of having the pupil accuse him at the Chinese courts, and the possibility of losing his fortune, must always hover in the background.

The life of the pupil is not a bed of roses either.[8] Not having received any real religious education, having no serious occupation, living a lazy life, the prospect of having to serve, who knows for how many years, a master who is becoming old and has many weaknesses and imperfections, is not alluring. On the other hand, being in the prime of life, used to engaging in domestic duties, enjoying the company of young people of dubious behavior, the pupil is not disposed to dedicate all his energy to study and devote himself entirely to a perfect monastic life.

These seemed to be the conditions prevailing between masters and pupils in the monasteries of Huang-chung in 1910–1920, which became evident after observing the lama life at close quarters for several years.

THE IDEAL MONGUOR LAMA IN HUANG-CHUNG

It was always very interesting to inquire, among 772
well-acquainted, serious lamas, and among young pupils, 157
how a "good" lama behaved the whole day long. The answers given are summed up in the following statement, bearing evidences of a long-standing tradition and of a general uniformity in the concept of a "model," or "ideal" lama.

In the very early morning the master awakens his pupil, who prepares tea. He presents a cup of tea to his master and enjoys one with him. In the winter he kindles the brazier. Then he sweeps the courtyard while his master rises. He brings him a basin of hot water, so that he may wash his face. He wipes the dust from the house altar and the furniture, and prepares the ritual tea to be offered before the Buddha image (a yellow powder consisting of several kinds of pounded roots mixed with water). The master fills the brass cups, displayed in a row before the image, taking care not to spill a single drop outside the cup. Master and pupil recite the ritual prayer, prostrating themselves as long as the prayer lasts. Fervent lamas are accustomed to make 108 prostrations with their pupil. Everyone assured me that this is really hard work, especially in wintertime.

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[8] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 129, 130, 131.

After the ritual the pupil empties the brass cups, pouring out the ritual tea in the courtyard in a place assumed to be clean, and cleans the cups. About this time the conches are blown and the drums beaten in the central assembly hall, and master and pupil go to attend the morning ceremony. They then come back to their quarters, and, after driving the oxen and horses to pasture, the pupil places the text book on the lap of his master and then with his back turned to the master recites the lesson indicated for that day. If he fails, the master inflicts corporal punishment and fixes the lesson for the next day. The pupil then prepares breakfast, after which he goes out to collect fuel. He is back at noon in order to serve tea and tsamba to his master. The ritual tea is offered again before the images, with prostrations, and the pupil, free for the whole afternoon, is then allowed to relax with his friends outside the monastery. He has to be back by the time the sun is as high as two posts, in order to prepare the evening meal of noodles and tea, which the master enjoys sitting on the k'ang while his pupil squats on the floor. After the kitchen chores are finished and the animals tended, the pupil starts memorizing texts for the next morning. When it is time to go to bed, a last and third ritual tea is offered, with prostrations, before the image on the house altar, and master and pupil sleep next to each other on the k'ang. A pupil is never allowed to go to bed before his master.

During the long winter nights, in order to have an [805] idea of the time, the good lamas fix three sticks of incense, end to end. To the third stick is attached a thread with copper coins. This device is suspended above a basin. When the third stick has burned down, the thread with the coins falls into the basin. The lama awakes and kindles a new series of three sticks of incense. He repeats this process a third time. When the coins fall for the third time the pupil is awakened and he starts the day's chores as before. If it happens that, when master and pupil are ready to attend the morning ceremony, the dawn is still some way off, they return to their slumbers; but if it is at hand they must, according to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or 792 prayer. 157

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats [516] cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or [262] chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

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Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time [466] job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas

[p.60(A)]

proficient in the art of gelding, are well known to the 792
farmers and can earn money by this skill. Others, skilled in the diseases of domestic animals, are busy all year writing prescriptions and selling medicines.

Still others work as doctors and earn a pretty good living. After examining the six different pulses of the patient, an agreement is made. The doctor guarantees [759]
the cure after a certain number of days, and demands immediate payment of an agreed sum, or of an animal, according to the seriousness of the disease. Then follows the prescription and the medicine. Other lamas are engaged in the tailoring business and sell cloth, silk, and brocade. Lamas like to be hired by devout people to make pilgrimages to celebrated monasteries for their intention. I once saw a lama reading texts for three days in the temple of medicine. Two bricks of tea put near him were the salary for the reading, which had been requested by a sick Monguor. I was told at Kumbum that many lamas, hired by Monguors or Tibetans, made a good living by prostrating themselves 108 times every day, for a fixed number of days, [788]
before a celebrated temple. Lamas try to be invited by their family, relatives, or friends of the family to pray at their home for several days for an agreed intention. If a sheep or goat is given as payment, they manage to put them, ear-marked, into the herds of some family, and thus in time many lamas come to own a small herd.

If you need some musk or saffron, or *p'ulu* cloth[9] or other products of Tibet, within an hour a lama will show up with what you want, ready to close a deal. It is the same if you need animals or a fine Peking saddle. A few lamas travel over the country to sell books. Lamas who have money in hand are ready to lend it, providing there are satisfactory guarantees. If you are calling on lamas and a lama visitor shows up, they talk business after a few minutes, always business. It was interesting to ask the young lama boys about the means used by the lamas to earn a living. They knew perfectly well how each lama made money, what his profits were, and how much he owned.

It is easy to understand that the mind of a people endowed with such a roving eye for business is not bent on prayers and meditations, and that such people are not committed to monastic life with passionate devotion. Perhaps the environment in which the lamas live, their daily conversations, the successes scored by lamas in trade, stimulate the passion to acquire more and more wealth in order to be able to live at ease in a ripe old age, with the result that they turn out to be 792 steady and sound business men, wearing religious clothes. Necessarily, the precepts and rules of the monastic life come more often to be honored in the breach than in the observance, and so the lamas drag each other down hill.

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[9] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891-92*, 67, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1894, describes *p'ulu* as woolen fabric woven in pieces, usually thirty feet long and about nine inches wide. The best kinds of this cloth come from Ulterior Tibet. The most popular colors are red, purple, striped and white with red and blue dyed crosses. The fabric is used in China to cover saddles or trim seats of carts. "*P'ulu*" is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name of this cloth, "*p'ruk*."

COMMUNITY OF LAMAS

How does a lamasery control its members and provide for their education? This is done through two organizations, the community of the lamas and the colleges or faculties.

Lamaseries have to control their lamas because they are responsible to the Chinese Government for the crimes and injustices caused by their members. Many lamas not dependent on any lamasery live in the country dressed as lamas and earn their own living, and do not involve any lamasery in the troubles they might cause.

In order to become a member of a lamasery, the name of the applicant must be entered on the roll of the organic community of the lamas. This carries with it permission to live in the monastery, to share its benefits and support, and to become a member of any college. The organic community of the lamas administers the entire lamasery; it fixes the rules observed by all the lamas of the institution; it sees to their observance and inflicts punishment for infractions. The community of the lamas is the hub around which the entire lamasery revolves. It possesses its own wealth and has its independent administration, as has been explained (p. [421] 38). The main temple of the lamasery is its property and in it all the lamas have to convene in the early morning to read texts. Every time the main temple is destroyed (as by revolts or fire), the organic community of the lamas must rebuild it.

In December, 1912, the vast temple of Kumbum dis- 175 appeared in a furious blaze after the morning conven- 792 tion of the lamas. The adjacent temple, containing the [421] dried trunk of the fabulous tree, was preserved, but the entire precious library, splendid old tapestries, precious embroidered streamers, paintings, the large Buddha painting, 21 meters in length and 15 meters in width, which was hung every year on the mountain at the festival, two enormous butter lamps of massive silver, the entire wardrobe and masks used in the theatrical performances, silver *chortens* containing the ashes of celebrated Living Buddhas, disappeared in the blaze. The guardians of the temple disappeared at full speed. Devoted old lamas testified that Tsong-khapa had punished Kumbum whose old fervor had decayed. I saw the whole community, old and young, devoutly carrying the ashes of the temple on their backs into an enclosure, because it was stated that the ashes, hallowed by the prayers said in the temple, must not be allowed to be desecrated. The intendants of the community of the lamas toured the Tibetan and Mongol countries for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered 175 a thousand big trees, Labrang $6,000, Erh-ku-lung 792 $1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt.

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO") 792

The supreme chief of this independent institution is 794 the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a 554 lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai.

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendancy proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems. [669] The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862–1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.[10] Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

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[10] Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

[p.61(B)]

The Fa't'ai even has the power to redress the mal- 792
administration of the intendancies, but all these powers 794
are more nominal than effective, because the name of 554
the Fa-t'ai-to-be is proposed by the intendancies themselves to the supreme chief of the lamasery. They know very well which Fa-t'ais are bent on reforms and set in their ways, and in order to secure the peace of the lamas and their own, they avoid proposing the name of "trouble makers." The Fa-t'ais, on the other hand, are practical Orientals. They know their appointment lasts for only three years, and that, if they should start with reforms, they would meet with the general covert opposition of the intendancies and of all the lamas, and their reforms would be hamstrung, so why borrow troubles if the next Fa-t'ai would undo what his predecessor had built up?

Therefore, the powers of a Fa-t'ai in Huang-chung are in practice reduced to theoretical and honorary dimensions. They are venerated as the learned supreme teachers of the community and occupy the highest seat in the main temple, next to that of the supreme chief of the lamasery. They very seldom attend the ceremonies in the temple, except when a rich pilgrim invites the community to read texts in his behalf. They attend the ceremony at the time of the festivities in order to enhance the prestige of the community, and march in procession with a stately measured tread to the temple, with the traditional splendor of their retinue. In the fourth, sixth, and eighth months they preach in the temple for the lamas for a few days. The rest of the time they live a happy, peaceful life in their residences, devoting their time to study and meditation, and entrusting, as their predecessors did, the whole direction of the institution to the intendant, who in the final analysis governs the entire institution. Fa-t'ais are inclined more to the speculative than the practical side of life.

A Fa-t'ai has to be a rich man in order to be able to fulfill his office. On the one hand he receives a small salary and at the time of the distribution of alms he receives as many shares as the supreme chief of the lamasery, but the flow of donations is irregular and unpredictable. On the other hand, a Fa-t'ai, several times a year, has to entertain the lamas of the community in a more or less sumptuous manner, with tea, butter, *tsamba,* mutton, beef, rice, raisins, and rolls. Each lama has to take home a fixed number of rolls. These repeated entertainments of lamas, four or five times a year, are the big expenses which a poor Fa-t'ai cannot afford, and they explain why poor but celebrated lamas decline the offer of the office of Fa-t'ai in large communities.

INTENDANT

Every day, during the morning assembly, a few re- [624]
marks are made to the community by the intendant concerning the observance of rules, the decorum required of lamas, the punishments inflicted the previous day

for infractions of the rules, the reform of some misbehavior 792, the arrival of distinguished guests or pilgrims [626], the offer of important gifts, and special religious 554 ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein consists 794 the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges.

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the 792 government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbulent 626 young folk living in the same lamasery, most of 794 whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them.

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, [572 nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the disciplinarian 525] with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide 784] whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains.

[p.62(B)]

Very often fights occur, for no important deal is closed 792
in the Orient without brawling or quarrelling. At that 626
time the disciplinarians and their lictors are on duty 794
all day and night.

At festival time women are allowed in the monastery, and relatives are allowed to visit their lama and stay at night in his home, after permission has been obtained from the intendancy. Several old lamas explained to me that the disciplinarian has to be changed every year in order to prevent the lamas from becoming too well acquainted with him, and arranging by bribery to break the rules. How officials, with such a terrible exterior appearance, can be approached so easily to be bribed is shrouded in mystery. For this reason, in all the lamaseries of Huang-chung the disciplinarians are said to be changed every year.

PRECENTOR—UM-DSE

In every lamasery there is a precentor, the leader of 792
the texts recited at the assemblies in the temple. He 794
is usually a man endowed with a voice that resounds in a deep, low, grave tone. At the same time he is the master of ceremonies who trains the officiants. He opens the prayers in a loud voice, in a special low register, the others taking up the chants in unison at the top of their voices.

COUNCILLORS

In larger lamaseries there are usually four councillors, older lamas, appointed by the Fa-t'ai for three years on the recommendation of the intendant. They constitute in effect, with the intendant, the administrative board of the institution. Before the name of the appointee is proposed to the Fa-t'ai, the intendant refers the proposal to the chief of the lamasery. The result is that the nominally supreme powers of a Fa-t'ai within his institution are in practice curtailed, and the influence wielded by the intendant upon the supreme chief of the lamasery being usually unlimited, the intendant is in reality the supreme ruler of the institution.

The rules to be observed in the lamaseries by all the inmates include the non-admittance of women, the non-admittance at night of laymen, or lamas who are not on the roster, and the obligation to attend the ceremonies prescribed for the members of the community. All other rules conform with the elementary standards of good behavior.

COLLEGES

In important lamaseries, colleges have been estab- 792
lished, theoretically as centers of higher education. 794
Some foreign travelers call them "universities." In 873
Huang-chung the only requirements for becoming a member of one of the four traditional colleges and reaping the benefits of the institution, are to be a member of the organic community of the lamas and to know the prescribed texts recited at the meetings held at the temple of the college. Accordingly, the majority

of the members of a college, at the time they enter, 792
have previously received only the training of ordinary 794
lamas, which consists of learning to read and write 873
more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime.

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy [871]
and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules.

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the [875]
teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and [876]
recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out.

[p. 63(B)]

The master starts with the explanation of the text 792
after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it 794
happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a 873
second or a third book, while the others are still study- [876]
ing the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have not received the same educational preparation and who progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary
schools and high schools compels the master to adapt [872]
his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the col- 792
leges is not that these institutions are centers of higher 554
education, but rather that they provide meals for their 873
members. The richest colleges, able to give the great- 814
est number and the choicest meals, are the best at- 262
tended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another attraction of this very popular college, teaching the most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the meals provided by the various colleges supports these statements: [p. 64(A)]

1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and 792
tsamba, in all the colleges. 554
2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, 873
for philosophers only. 814
3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all 262
the colleges.

4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges
5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. 792
Among the huge numbers of members of the College 814
of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small 873
groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated de-

baters who are always the same and fond of displaying 792 814 873
their ability.

Not a few among them are real actors, who would 792
honor the stages of the best theaters in the civilized 544
world. Their poses, mimicry, jokes, verve, double 873
meaning suggestions, affected sounds, and their knack of keeping the people amused, whet the curiosity and provide a real relaxation. Nearly the whole community huddles around them, even the old lamas who are used to sitting sleepily at these compulsory, boring meetings, for whom the novelty has worn off many, many years ago, and who have never been interested in the subject itself, strain their ears and huddle a little nearer to the stage and relax happily.

The Yellow Sect has always been fond of dialectic. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung was celebrated for his logic in the learned world of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung.[11] The dialectic methods of Nagarjuna are particularly enjoyed by the philosophers. He used to "prove," in the most incredible ways, the nonexistence of the world, of his proper self, and even of Buddhism.[12] The debaters try by means of recitation of endless memorized texts to stagger their opponents, and by tortuous questions to entice them into snares of sophism and to prove the most unbelievable theses. The attractive public disputations help to break the monotony of the monastic life, and to provide a couple of hours of relaxation.

It was said that once in a while some students passed official examinations and obtained titles and degrees, but I never had the opportunity to be present at such ceremonies.

Both these reasons explain the unusual attraction toward the College of Philosophy of the large number of lamas, who even lack the education of a student of an elementary school, and also the stubborn perseverance of the old lamas in continuing as members of the college.

The conditions for becoming a member of the other 792
colleges and the method of study are identical with 873
those of the College of Philosophy. The lamas have to 794
attend only one compulsory service in the early morning in the main temple, as required by the organization of the community of the lamas, and have plenty of time to attend the exercises prescribed by other colleges in the morning and afternoon; they even have plenty of time to indulge in domestic duties and commerce. It would be instructive to make a comparison between the standard of the studies in Huang-chung and that of the celebrated lamaseries of Tibet, as described in nearly all the works concerned with the subject.[13] After investigating the situation in Huang-chung, I harbor suspicions concerning the punctilious observance of the pro-

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[11] Huth, *op. cit.*, 281.

[12] René Grousset, *Philosophies indiennes*, ch. 9, *passim*, Paris, Desclée de Brower, 1931.

[13] Waddell, *op. cit.*, 184-188; Filchner, *op. cit.*, 350-358; Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 94, etc.

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gram of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, 792
and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed 873
to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem 794
to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists.

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, 792
who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung 157
for many years, knew the language very well and was 829
always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses:

> At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.[14] In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men, a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them." [15]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.[16] It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.[17] He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.[18]

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my [123]
own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.[19]

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[14] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

[15] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

[16] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.*, 348.

[18] *Ibid.*, 560.

[19] Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

LIVING BUDDHAS

ABODE

Living Buddhas who are possessors of lamaseries, 792
live in them; Living Buddhas who do not possess their 794
own lamasery, ask permission of the supreme chief of 342
a lamasery to live as a guest on his property and to build a residence. Usually this kind of poor Living Buddha tries to dwell in a rich and celebrated monastery, where pilgrim caravans come and plenty of alms are offered. By having a share in the alms it is easier for them to make a living. This is also the reason why lamas prefer to be entered on the rolls of these rich institutions. Many Living Buddhas who have monasteries of their own like to have another residence in a celebrated lamasery such as Kumbum or Labrang.

These buildings enhance the splendor of the lamasery and are usually built by the tribesmen of the Living Buddhas. A stele is erected in the courtyard, with the names of all the people who contributed to the building expenses engraved on it. Larger or smaller buildings are added in order to provide quarters for them when they visit the lamasery. All the important Living Buddhas in the country possess such more or less luxurious residences in the celebrated lamaseries, built by their intendancies. This kind of residence is called Karwa. In Kumbum there are 83, in Labrang 40, in Erh-ku-lung 14.

WHAT IS A LIVING BUDDHA? 792

A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a *Bodhisattva* who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a Buddha. He renounces the blessedness of *Nirvana* and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes from body to body—because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve—but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.[20]

APPLICATION OF THE SYSTEM IN HUANG-CHUNG

It has been recorded that the theory of succession by 792
reincarnation only started in Lhasa in 1475. In 75
Huang-chung, the first known Living Buddha was Chang-chia, born in 1642. No records exist concerning the appearance of the first Living Buddhas in Ch'ü-t'an, Kumbum, or Sha-ch'üng. However, it may be taken for granted that these lamaseries would not have had their Living Buddhas as early as 1642, but it was probably close to that time that they began to follow the example set by Erh-ku-lung, rather than suffer in competition with it.

At any rate it seems that succession by reincarnation must have started and been practiced on a large scale during the period from 1600 to 1723, when numerous hermitages and branches arose all over the country of

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[20] Tucci-Ghersi, *Secrets of Tibet*, 38, London, 1935.

Huang-chung, and the mother lamaseries became firmly established. 792 775

PROCEDURE OF BECOMING A LIVING BUDDHA IN HUANG-CHUNG

The first incarnations of the five great Hutukhtus started as minor Living Buddhas, in the same way as the innumerable minor Living Buddhas who still spring up every day. A lama who is celebrated for his saintliness and wisdom, for his zeal in the diffusion of the religion, and for his blameless life, and is considered by his friends to have displayed the signs of approaching the final illumination, may be acknowledged by them after his death to be a Bodhisattva, to have renounced the blessedness of Nirvana, and to have made the vow to remain in this world for the salvation of all creatures. However, in Huang-chung the acknowledgment of lamas has to be sanctioned by a Living Buddha, whether a minor or a great one. The Panchen Lama confirmed that Chang-chia was the incarnation of a Dharmasvanin Graspa-odzer[21]; K'ri-c'en Blogros rgyamts'o confirmed the Bodhisattvaship of T'u-kuan.[22] It has already been noted that Chang-chia declared, on a morning in 1913, that the Wang Fa-t'ai of Ch'ie-bzan was a Living Buddha, and the Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an declared that the nephew of the Lu T'u-ssu, a Lama of Ta-ssu, was a Living Buddha.

It is a known fact that much private influence is 792 brought to bear in the selection of Living Buddhas, in 662 order to secure the appointment of scions of noble, 775 wealthy, and influential families, or to provide some [622] other benefit. It has already been recorded how the lamas endeavored to obtain the protection of the most powerful T'u-ssu. Therefore, the first incarnation of the series of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was caused to appear in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, and two more Living Buddhas were incarnated in this clan, the old and young Li Living Buddhas. At the beginning of the Ming, a lama of the Li clan had already become a Karwa lama; the Karwa still exists and is administered by a lama of the Li clan. The nephew of the powerful Lu T'u-ssu recently became a Living Buddha, as has been noted and at the same time the branch lamasery of Ta-ssu became independent. One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan was a lama of the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng belonging to the Lu T'u-ssu; one of the incarnations of Chang-chia was born in Too long, which belongs to the Lu clan. Seerkok, as already noted, arranged to have two of its minor Living Buddhas reincarnated, one in Mongolia and one in Tibet, in order to attract lamas from these countries to fill up its depleted roster, but without avail.

One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan appeared in Siamar, in the Tibetan family of Ts'e-bdurk, the richest and most influential in the region. The parents, with their daughter, went to Lhasa on a pilgrimage of

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[21] Huth, *op. cit.*, 273.
[22] *Ibid.*, 281.

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thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

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The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang- 175
chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in 775
the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, 792
after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired 787
and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung.

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living
Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the [431]
guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and 30 ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family.

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty 175
lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his in- 775
tendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on 792
horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the

whole community lavishly entertained. The guests 175 were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 795 taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. 792 Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 [431] taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living 792 Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid 871 procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Liv- [511] ing Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason

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even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even allowed [511]
to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which,
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, [784]
whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and extensive 871
learning, in order to provide for the education
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 554
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, 292
as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

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[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the 792
well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his 875
pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are
made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems
that such instances often occur.

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curricu- 792
lum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the 871
intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he 484
was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback)
to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there;
at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he
went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New
Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at
Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for
study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and
went on a vacation with his family for four months.

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms
among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on
a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-
half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven
or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It
is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never [875]
leave their pupils; they accompany them on the jour-
neys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics
while riding horseback during the whole of the journey.
Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go
through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist
learning.

What about the frame of mind and the religious for- 792
mation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and 156
contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime
of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master,
swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above
others, and inflating their self-importance? What of
the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teen-
agers of basking continually in the adulation of a group
of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a
feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always
wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look
of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask?
Without doubt some of them are carried away with
their own play-acting and like to move in this misty
land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales
will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and
bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality.

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to 792
me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep 875
young men, for whom studies have not the slightest
appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their
dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike
out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when
corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter
the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices
of life among the servants and former novices of their
previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and,
lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A
large number of them are buds that will never bloom.

BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philo- 792
sophical considerations.

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha- 276
ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku- 691
lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his 157
monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter.

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that [696]
he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time.

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be 792
well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was 157
the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum 578
in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery.

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

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toward his father, and he could not understand how the 792
same individual could happen to be the incarnation of 157
the father and the son. Then Achia talked to him like 578
a father, telling him to be more circumspect and to behave more decently, for many tales were already spreading about his behavior with Tibetan women. Liberties of that kind, he said, outraging the Lamaist conventions, were not allowed at Kumbum. The lamas of Kumbum, breathing fire and brimstone, prepared their weapons and called together lamas of neighboring monasteries. The officials of Hsining (the Amban, the General, the tao-t'ai, and the prefect) were in a hurry, and went to Kumbum with troops in order to prevent a clash. Finally, in order to get rid of the Dalai Lama as fast as possible, they decided to let him appoint three lama officials and then to depose them after his departure. The Dalai Lama left, and the three appointed officials also left as quickly as possible for fear of being killed by the Kumbum lamas. The deposed officials assumed their jobs again, but Achia, deeming that he had ir- [762]
retrievably lost face, cut his throat. Several times I heard this tragic story, told by the Amban himself and by the officials at Kumbum.

The Dalai Lama cut a sorry figure in Hsining in 792
1909. The residence of Achia, destroyed by fire in 157
1895, was still not rebuilt in 1914, although all the materials for the reconstruction had been ready since 1909. The wood had been offered by the Tibetan Chief, Kach-htjir, and a contract had been written by the intendancy, promising Kach-htjir and his relatives the privilege of always staying at the residence, whenever they visited Kumbum.

Chao, the Living Buddha of Sia-mar, was a most celebrated man all over the country for his skill in patching up troubles, his unusual eloquence, proficiency in using the double-edged sword, of menaces and threats, soft words and blandishments. However, his influence lay in his cultivated acquaintance with the Chinese officials, to whom he paid visits and offered lavish gifts, and whom in due time he would use and provide with lawsuits that would benefit them. He was credited with having marvelous abilities and of being a powerful man. The saying went around that his special [828]
kind of intelligence weighed so heavily on one side of his body, that the soles of a new pair of shoes, after a few days, were always run down on the same side—the side where his intelligence was pressing the most.

He had obtained the office of chiliarch, the old privilege of judging the numerous tribes formerly subjected to his predecessors. He started abolishing, among his subjects, the smoking and planting of opium, with Draconian severity, and flogging and fining addicts of alcohol. He compelled the Chinese, to whom his subjects had transferred lands, to return the fields. Wherever there happened to be a festival, he pitched his tent and waited to render justice. Young women who had eloped and had been brought back by his retinue of

[p.70(A)]

twenty Tibetan soldiers, were flogged on such occasions 792 in order to make a drastic example of them. Whenever 157 people had a serious conflict, this Living Buddha was invited as arbitrator. He extended his zeal with prodigality, indulging his greedy fondness for display, and cultivating his reputation for knowing how to straighten out problems that seemed to be in a hopeless muddle. These activities absorbed all of his time and energy.

Cha-ik Hutukhtu followed in the wake of the Living Buddha of Siamar, building up his influence among the Chinese officials by means of gifts and visits, and by obtaining of the illustrious title Hutukhtu. He was never at home.

The Living Buddha Pu of Seerkok was fond of beautiful [526] and fast horses. Every three days he participated in the morning races in the city of Hsining, riding his own horses in competition with the Moslems, who raised the best horses in the country. He was a better success at riding horses and breeding them than in philosophy and metaphysics; he was never seen in the temple.

The supreme chief of Seerkok, incarnation of the celebrated and learned Min-chu-erh, had a job at Nanking in the Bureau of Tibetan and Mongol affairs, but spent all of his spare time in Shanghai, indulging in expensive distractions and sorely depleting the funds of his intendancy. Back in Hsining, the community of the lamas stirred up trouble by not allowing him to return to the monastery, and preparing to bring suit against him at court, claiming that he was not the genuine incarnation. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu told me in Man hui, Hou-t'ao, in 1940 that he had sent his intendant to Seerkok in order to avoid scandal and to smooth the ruffled feathers of the lamas, and that after several weeks, Min-chu-erh, his behavior having been on display in the city of Hsining, had succeeded in returning to Seerkok, protected by a retinue of thirty Moslem soldiers loaned by General Ma Erh-hsiang.

It was delightful to encounter once in a while a good Living Buddha, who was really loved by the people. In Hsien mi monastery the Goomang Buddha, an old man, was engaged all year long in making up packages containing medicine, on which he blew his blessings and which he distributed gratis to people who come from far away to receive them. It was a panacea, which [757] healed all kind of diseases of men, women, and children.

Dealing with fasting rites for laymen, there will be recorded the example of a really outstanding Living Buddha, the old Li. Modest and unassuming, adored by the people, his preaching developed and revived the sense of religiosity and of justice and humanity. His beneficent influence radiated far beyond the circle of fasters, into families and the administration of villages. He was at that time, among the Living Buddhas, the only educator of the Monguors, a benefactor of the Monguor society. [p.170(B)]

LAMAISM AND MONASTICISM

The study of the preceding topics will help in understanding what the Lamaist institution in Huang-chung, called lamasery, consists of fundamentally. It can best be done by means of defining the respective positions of its chiefs and its subjects. 792

> In speaking about lamas and lamaseries, the terms "monk" and "monastery" are used indiscriminately, because we have no other terms. However, except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.
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> The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish.[26]

Lamas take the first and second vows, promising to Buddha to be faithful to them. They take no vows of submission to the chief of the community, promising nothing to him except to remain celibate and to observe the rules of the community, to attend the exercises in the temple, and not to disturb the peace of the lamasery.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to impose any duty on the lamas. A salary is paid for the fufilling of any office, and those who do not intend to earn the money, do not apply for the job. The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the studies or the scientific trend of mind of the lamas. He only has the right to urge their presence at the ceremonies and knowledge of the texts recited at the meetings, because lamas attending the assembly receive a remuneration of tea, *tsamba*, meal, and a share of alms.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere 792
with the religious and spiritual education of the lamas. 554
These fields are under the jurisdiction of the individual master who directs the studies of a pupil. The lamas have the right to bring suit against each other at the Chinese courts, and the pupil has the right to bring suit against his master, without interference from the chief of the lamasery.

The amazing respective positions of a chief of the 792
lamasery and the lamas are crudely demonstrated by the facts of the admission of a lama to the lamasery, his retirement from it, and the conditions existing between them after the abandonment. Admission into a lamasery in Huang-chung is not complicated. Every unknown man who wears lama clothes and who goes straight to the courtyard of the intendancy of the monastery, presents 100 copper cash and asks for admittance, is given a scarf of felicity. He is led to see the intendant before whom he prostrates himself and to whom he presents the scarf; he promises to observe celibacy and the rules of the monastery, and to attend the morning ceremonies. His name is entered on the

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[26] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 100.

roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes 792
a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendancy of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rec-
tor of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the [792]
monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama.

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendancy for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendency itself, for intendancies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a 792
husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before 627
the main temple, while the community read impreca- 684
tions. Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper 681
hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and
the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks

[p. 71 (B)]

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the 792
monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the 627
way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding 684
the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of 681
lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped
of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and
the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to
the monastery without looking back. A round mark [685]
is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so
marked to enter any monastery.

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, 792
three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her 684
death. They fled the same night. The whole village 682
of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which
was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay
an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at
court. The whole country was bursting with righteous [627]
indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the
lamasery.

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also 792
the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas 511
retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing
it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals
enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard,
clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses
and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as
they wish, and there are poor individuals who have
trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed,
working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them
because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of
poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of
the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for
the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from
this lack originate most of the vices encountered among
the lamas and the ruination of monasteries.

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches 792
farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very 831
well and the texts prove it.[28]

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow [185]
Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic
life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense
of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among
the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced
by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at
Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries,
and intendants who betray their vows, as was
the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and
Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the
T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living
Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the

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[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p.72(A)]

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to 792
Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his 831
exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be [762]
evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations.

The reform by means of serious study, however, [185]
seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the 792
present times. Among so many Monguor Living Bud- 461
dhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living.

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school 792
has been established by the rich monasteries, in order 871
to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29]

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[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers [792
there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought 771
to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally 175]
recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible."

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the 792
villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, 626
restoring peace in families, defending the position of the 888
women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas.

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

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175

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when [292]
performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow
Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, [534]
and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas.

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

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abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules [792
of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images 771
worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in 175]
offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration."

[p. 73(A)]

the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged 795 in magic. It is not known when most of them went 792 over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 175 1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-kulung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and [648] offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

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The conditions under which the Red lamas lived 794 during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the prac- 175
tice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed 795
its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

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[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*.

Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which 775 had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a 795 monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country.

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha—all the more since Kan-cha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868–1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flourishing. [792] The Living Buddha is a strong personality bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect.

Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery [648] and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite.

The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and 795 the deities honored in their temples may be passed over 792 here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study.

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited

[p.74(A)]

Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, 795
walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, 792
likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

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The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung 628
never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, 578
where lamas fought each other and destroyed each 792
others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless.

None the less, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops, who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku- 795
lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of 792
Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa.

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu

[p.74(B)]

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, 795
was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because 792
family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young 175
lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow 795
Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of 792
the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward 795
magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. 789
It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of [323]
mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. 792
The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet 795
these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to 789
obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the [223]
Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the
next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is
not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, [262]
leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

[p.75 (B)]

carried home. Before sunset his meal has to be finished 792
and the people gone. At this first spring he stays for 795
seven days. 789

Twice a day he prepares tea and eats *tsamba* along the wayside. When people see a practicer of the rite passing near the village, they all follow him, prepare his tea and his evening meal. He enjoys the real veneration of all the Monguors and the Tibetans. He remains for seven days at the first spring, praying, dancing, three times during the day and three times during the night. It is said that during the night, the time of the demons, he summons all the demons of the country, wages his ritual war with them, subduing them, or making friends of them. At night he has a terrible time, exercising his magical abilities and increasing his magical capacities. The demons do not let him sleep a wink. All kinds of terrifying tales are spread in the country about his nightly experiences.[2]

At dawn he gathers stones and builds a small cairn; then he starts for the next springs, remaining only one day at each of them and performing the same rites. At the 54th spring he stays for seven days, as at the first one, then continues his pilgrimage until the 108th, where he again enacts seven-day rites. Then all the Red lamas of the country, the people of his village, the chiefs and elders of the neighboring villages come to meet him and lead him home in order to perform the final rite, which simulates the incineration of corpses and includes a recitation of texts together with all the lamas. Sitting on a throne in front of the ritual oven in which wood is burning, he pours boiling butter on the wood, acting like an officiant at a real incineration. After this rite he is heartily congratulated and receives some gifts: sheep, butter, tea, sugar, raisins. I never obtained an explanation of this last rite, or of its connection with the pilgrimage of the 108 springs.

Springs of water play an important part in the re- 792
ligious life of lamas and of the Monguors. It is not 795
unusual to see lamas of the Yellow Sect, even Living 789
Buddhas, sitting for hours in silence at the edge of a 823
spring, slowly beating its surface with a flat broad lath. It is said that this practice produces happiness and peace of mind.

On the fifth of the fifth month the Monguors honor 792
the spirit of the well from which they draw water. 795
They make a *Wei-sang*[3] near the well, plant a stick 789
to the top of which is affixed a bouquet, and prostrate themselves. The whole family wash their hands and faces with the water in the first bucket drawn, and rinse their mouths. Tea is prepared and all of them drink several cups, for it is said that this tea prevents all kind of diseases. At the same time they bury an urn near the well, thanking the spirit of the earth where

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[2] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 126: also Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 384, Paris, Payot, 1951.

[3] See Chap. VIII, note 2, p. 95.

792
the well bubbles, for providing them with water during 775
the whole year. 789

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880–1895, only two hermits. 792 [342] One lived in the region of Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers.

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in [789] former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles.

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of 756 shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford 756 an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the circumstances, [177] adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

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[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (I) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them.

[p. 76(B)]

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I attended [123] their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BŐ*, the Monguors call them *BO*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in [148] their dialect. *BŐ* and *BO* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and 756 authors are even unable to find a definition with which 771 they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."[2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morphologically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic religions [776]—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

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[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

[p. 77(A)]

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771
[171]

by the shaman but of the ecstasy caused by the ascension or descent.[3]

Åke Ohlmarks considers arctic and subarctic shamanism. The arctic "genuine shamanism" is founded on a psycho-pathologic base, and originated in the arctic regions out of the hysteria peculiar to this region; the subarctic shamanism originated in primeval magic influenced by the arctic shamanism. The shaman, by means of ecstasy, provides communication between the three worlds, connected by means of an axis (tree, post, or rope) along which move spirits and souls, including those of the sacrificed victims.[4]

In the course of this study reference will be made frequently to the Bön religion, because many facts relating to shamanism are encountered also in Bön, and even in Lamaism. A few words regarding Bön seem to be advisable.

According to Helmut Hoffman[5] the meaning of Bön is not known (p. 137). Bon is the old religion of the Tibetans which existed before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet in the seventh century (p. 135). It is the Tibetan form of a primitive animism that once spread all over Northern and Central Asia, this animism often being thoroughly blended with genuine shamanist principles (p. 208). At present, the systematized Bön religion is a composite. Its original nucleus was the belief in and fear of good and evil spirits (p. 135) and the worship of Heaven considered as a god of the universe, "Weltgott" (p. 156). Around this nucleus was built a façade made up of elements of the debased but more developed Buddhism (Lamaism) (p. 138), in which also animist-shamanist principles played and still play a prominent part (p. 197). Bön, in competing with Lamaism, adopted many of its rites and institutions and composed its literature according to the pattern of Lamaism.

In the primitive Bön, existing before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, Heaven was worshipped not only as an impersonal power, but also as a personal God (p. 156). Hence communication between Heaven and earth was secured by means of a rope or ladder, the "way of the spirits" (p. 153), and by means of the post supposed to reach heaven.[6] Bön likes to emphasize

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[3] Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 434, 439, Paris, Payot, 1951. See also the interesting review of this book by Dominic Shröder, in *Anthropos* 48 (3-4): 671, 1953.

[4] Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Shamanismus*, 83, Kopenhagen, Gleerup, 1939. See also Horst Kichner, Ein archäologischer Beitrage zur Urgeschichte des Shamanismus, *Anthropos* 47 (1-2): 244, 1952. 47: 1952, No. 1-2, 244. David F. Aberle, "Arctic hysteria" and Latah in Mongolia, *Trans. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, ser. 2, 7: 291, 1952.

[5] Helmut Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur*, 4, 1950.

[6] Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The religions of India*, 378, Boston, 1895. In early Hinduism there existed already "a festivity for Indra, extending over two days, and marked by the erection of a pole in honor of the god."

[p.77(B)]

the cosmic tree on the mount Meru. In addition the 756
whole series of good and evil spirits were both honored 771
and combatted in the effort to make them inoffensive. Hoffmann concludes that it is hard to trace a sharp dividing line between the old Bön and shamanism.

It is instructive to read the review of Helmut Hoffmann by R. A. Stein[7] in order to get an idea of the confusion still persisting regarding the subject. Stein holds that the definition of Bön, said to be the religion of the Tibetans before the introduction of Buddhism, is not easy to write down, because Bön as a religious system is only known in its later state of development when it seems to be a variant of Lamaism. Bön conserves more archaic traits of the old popular religion than Lamaism does, but it does not enjoy a monopoly (p. 98), because the facts relating to Bön are encountered in Lamaism as well as in shamanism. The problem of the Iranian origin of Bön is difficult to solve (p. 99). The fact that the Bön worshipped the spirit of Heaven as a personal Supreme Deity seems to have to be taken with cautiousness (p. 101).

Kawaguchi[8] notes that originally Bönism very much resembled Hinduism, but now in theory it is almost Buddhism. Shorn of its sacrifices, its toleration of marriage and use of intoxicants, it is only Buddhism under another name.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS WITHIN THE CLAN

The social conditions of the shamans are the same as 756
those of the commoners of the clan. They are not 554
exempted from land taxes and corvées, but no special corvées are imposed upon them by the chiefs of the villages. They receive remuneration for the performance of rites in behalf of the community. The shamans enjoy no privileges in the Monguor community as was the rule in the time of Chingis Khan.

The Monguor shamans do not live in monasteries, 756
where they might give spiritual help to the people; they live in various parts of the villages, each with his wife and children. Their economic mainstay is tilling the soil and breeding cattle; their subsidiary occupation is the performance of shamanistic rites either for the community of the village or for private families when invited by them. The margin of subsistence of most of the shamans is rather narrow.

No bonds tie them to the village where they are liv- [571]
ing; shamans of distant villages are invited by the villagers, and the shamans living in the village are frequently overlooked. Some shamans, celebrated all over the country for their proficiency in the art, are invited more often than others by village communities or private families.

The activities of the shamans are not limited by the boundaries of their clan. They are invited in every 756 clan indiscriminately, and even performed rites among Chinese and Tibetans outside the clans.

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[7] R. A. Stein, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952: 97.

[8] Ekai Kawaguchi (Late rector of Gohyakurakan Monastery), *Three years in Tibet*, 131, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[p. 78(A)]

In some villages there are two or more shamans; in others only one, or none at all. The shamans are independent of each other and are not confederated in a guild. They have no chief to whom they are subjected, but all the shamans are enrolled as members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the Chinese city. The chief of that guild orders them to carry out in the city, in collaboration with them, the rites for saving the moon and the sun at the time of an eclipse. The chief of the guild is appointed by the Chinese officials for the [648] patching up of quarrels among the shamans. In the event that a shaman breaks the rules of the guild, a letter from the chief of the guild to the prefect of the city is sufficient to put the shaman in jail. The shamans have to contribute also toward defraying the expenses of the guild. This fact, as has been noted, is really abnormal and infringes upon the rights of the T'u-ssu. It will be explained later..

In comparing the actual social conditions of the shamans among the Monguors with those of the shamans among the Mongols in former times, it is manifest that shamanism has fallen into decay. "The forest clans often had at their head shaman magicians, who were reputed to have intercourse with the spirits. A shaman that was at the same time the leader of the clan or tribe, bore the title of 'Biki,' a title occasionally borne also by members of the steppe aristrocracy."[9] Shamans were, at that time, exempted from taxes and [651] corvées.

It may be that these ancient conditions account for the tradition, prevalent among the Monguors, that in former times each village had its own shaman and only one; that the temple of the village was administered by the shaman and used for the cult of the spirits of the village, by the villagers only. At present the temple is the property of the village and administered by the community, but still only the villagers are allowed to enter their own temple. There is no admittance for strangers.

WHAT IS A SHAMAN ACCORDING TO THE MONGUORS AND ETHNOLOGISTS?

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a friend of each, in case of good spirits or, as a protector of men in case of evil spirits. He devotes himself, and gives himself up wholly to the service of certain definite spirits which take possession of him, and which he gathers in his drum. They sometimes speak by means of his mouth, help him to call up other spirits which he sees and hears talking in his drum, and with which he is able to speak. The spirits help him to arrange appointments with other spirits, bestowing blessings and boons, and helping him combat evil ones, which play havoc and work damage. According to the Monguors, he is a more powerful man than others, able to save the villagers when their happiness is imperiled and the world in a mess.

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[9] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis khan;* 4, London, Routledge, 1930. See also Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Barjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 981, 1928; also S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organisation of the Manchus*, Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch Extra Vol. 3: 13, 154, Shanghai, 1924. Also the same author, *Psychomental complex of the Tungus*, 344, 346, 347, London, Trubner, 1935. See also the basic difference existing between the shamans among the Monguors and among the Manchus and Tungus concerning relations with and the position of the shamans in the clan. See also Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source for the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953. [p. 78(B)]

Why did the shaman devote himself to the service of his special spirits? In very old times one of his ancestors, according to the shamans, had been singled out and ordered by these special spirits to devote himself to their service. These spirits had ordered him to continue this service, generation after generation, and had promised to shower blessings on him, and to help him in averting troubles from his customers. These spirits taught the initial shaman the method of serving them, of beating drums, of performing rites, and today's shamans have to discipline their behavior according to these instructions. Thus every shaman is a descendant of an initial shaman chosen and compelled to serve certain definite spirits. The initial shaman now being in contact with these spirits still provides his descendant shamans with the means of communication with them, and secures their aid and support for the successful achievement of their duty. This seems to be the specific belief of the shamans themselves, and of the Monguors about the shamans.

According to the ethnologists, "the strongest evidence of the ingenuity of the shaman lies in the fact that the shaman possesses the power to take into himself spirits, which speak by means of his mouth, but which he controls and makes obedient to himself." [10] Ethnologists assert that, physically, shamans suffer from nervous diseases, and are easily excited.[11] They are unbalanced people with a marked disposition to all kinds of illusions and hallucinations.[12] Cases of epilepsy, idiocy, mental breakdown, and insanity have been noted among the shamans.[13] This record is not very flattering or inspiring.

SUCCESSION OF THE SHAMANS

The care and the protection shown by the spirits for their initial shaman and his successors are most effective. They interfere even with the choice of the boy who has to succeed to the incumbency of a shaman, by guiding the father shaman to indicate which among his 756 sons fills the bill of requirements in the most appropriate way. The general belief among the Monguors is that the avocation of a shaman does not depend on the individual or on any other person, but on the spirits, who select the person who is to discharge the duty.

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[10] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 243.

[11] Georg Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Siberischen Völkern*, 50, Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder, 1925.

[12] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977.

[13] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 3. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 7.

The succession, according to the Monguors, is necessarily inherited by one of the sons of a shaman. This is explained according to the Monguor mentality. It has been noted that, since the worshipping of a spirit once begun by a family should never be discontinued, for fear of calamities which would be sent by the abandoned spirit, the eldest son therefore has to perpetuate its cult. In a more imperative way, when the head of a family has dedicated himself to the cult of a spirit, the duty of a member of the same family to continue this dedication is far more urgent. Since it can never be neglected, one of the sons has to assume the duty.

When a shaman, however, has no sons, he indicates his successor among the sons of his brothers and adopts him. The boy will inherit his wealth and substance and become a shaman. If he did not adopt a son during his life, a family council convenes in order to indicate one of their boys to succeed to the deceased shaman, for the future of the whole family is at stake. The Monguors harbor a deep conviction that the whole family is responsible for the continuation of the dedication of a member to the cult of the spirits, and that the family would not be able to withstand the calamities entailed by such neglect.

The Monguors say that in former times, when the [462] shaman had no sons, one of his daughters discharged the duty, but at present there are no more female shamans. Many times I received from the Monguors this explanation which, according to their trend of mind, seemed logical.

When I asked the shamans why they accepted only their sons or nephews as pupils, and never sons belonging to families in which there were no shamans, they always answered that such boys could not become shamans. They said their old ancestor had been chosen and ordered by the Twelve Tengris themselves to honor them; that the way of practicing their art had been taught to him by the Twelve Tengris themselves and that consequently their "family" had to discharge this duty. "We have to honor our shaman ancestors," they said, "because when we are fulfilling our duty their spirits come to us, helping us serve the tengris; they know the way of approaching the tengris; they live with them and know them, make them take possession of us, and make them help us in every way. Without the spirits of our ancestors we are unable to perform the rites, to call up our Tengris and to combat evil spirits. The spirits of our ancestors know us, and protect us, because we are their descendants, and so do the Twelve Tengris; but our ancestors will not help strangers and our Tengris recognize only our family as their servants;

[p. 79 (B)]

therefore a member of an alien family can never become 756
a shaman."

When I asked whether all the Monguor shamans served the twelve spirits, the answer was that they did, and then I objected, not understanding why, that the family names of the shamans were not the same. They answered that the spirits had chosen ancestors of different families to become shamans, but all these things had happened centuries ago. This explanation seemed to be full of holes.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHAMAN

BEHAVIOR AMONG SHAMANS AND BETWEEN SHAMANS AND MONGUORS

Shamans always said that in the mountains south of 756
the Hsining River were shamans serving only evil 628
spirits, who were therefore called "black shamans." 565
They dedicate themselves to the evil spirits, and to 754
Erlik Khan, their chief, and unleash them to harm the people. The "white shamans" must drive away the evil spirits and undo their harm; they serve only good spirits and are devoted to them in the same way the black shamans are devoted to the evil spirits.

White shamans never have friendly relations with black shamans and never give their daughters to their sons, or take brides for their sons from among them; one group despises the other. The white shamans always boast of their superior power, and the thorough efficacy of their good spirits over the evil spirits, and are convinced that their group existed long before the black shamans came into existence.

The Monguors are really afraid of the black shamans. They never give their daughters to them, and shun them because they know they are dangerous fellows. When a black shaman is traveling through the country and asks to stay for the night in a Monguor village, the horror-stricken Monguors never dare to refuse to comply with his demand, and so display the most gracious hospitality for fear he might unleash the evil spirits and harm the village. The black shamans know they are shunned and that they have no friends in the world. They are dominated by an inferiority complex. When they encounter anyone on the road, they retire to the wayside and allow the wayfarer to pass first.

This attitude toward the black shamans is understandable, but why it exists in the same way toward the white shamans is an enigma. The white shamans living in the village are always invited by private families and the communities to provide aid and support in all kind of troubles; they are said to be the servants of the good spirits. Notwithstanding this, the Monguors do not like to have friendly, intimate relations with them. The white shamans are never invited to dinners and feasts for births of children, marriages, or funerals. Ordinary people never either marry their girls to sons of white shamans or permit their boys to marry girls of white shamans. No white shaman is

allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. 754
He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and ac- 756
customed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. 628
He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, 565
for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in [578]
order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that sha- 756
mans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans 756
at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all 798
the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested 756
to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its

minister. Such recollected facts always sear the mind 756
of the Monguors, convincing them that the spirit is to be obeyed, and that it is a terrible spirit.

When we take stock of what has been said of the behavior of the Monguors toward the shamans, the inferiority complex of the shamans, the exacting requirements of the spirit, and the poor remuneration of the office, it is no wonder that the shamans do not enjoy their profession and meet their obligations with revulsion. What is more remarkable is that the same trend of mind exists among all the shamans all over Asia.[14]

DEDICATION AND TRAINING OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS[15]

Usually the son succeeds the father, and the father is the trainer of his son; the father has no other apprentices. However, during the slack season of agricultural routine, it is not unusual to see sons of different shamans staying for a couple of months with a shaman relative, celebrated for the proficiency of his art. The boys recognize the shaman as their master.

The training of the shaman boy starts when he is 756
about ten years of age. At that time the father invites 768
the elders of his family and some shamans, he kills a sheep and performs the ceremony of the dedication. The boy kneels with incense sticks in his joined hands. The shamans beat drums, perform a dance before the picture of the twelve spirits especially honored by them, and before the staff placed before the picture. A shaman, holding the staff in his hands, then invites the spirits to descend into it. When the staff starts shaking, he makes the announcement to the spirits of the dedication of the boy to their service, and asks them whether or not they approve the dedication of the boy. The invited spirits make the staff shiver and shake more and more in the hands of the shaman. The shaman states that the boy is accepted and dedicated for his whole life to the Twelve Tengris; that they will help him, but will get him into serious trouble if he gives only lip service to them; that he is no longer his own master, but is linked to them by the dedication; then he describes the most terrible calamities which are in store for undutiful shamans, while the staff shakes feverishly in his hands. A dance is performed around the boy while drums are beaten and the ceremony is completed. The gamut of all kind of misfortunes and calamities visited on undutiful shamans will be dinned in his ears in all circumstances, so that the boy, living in an atmosphere of fear and apprehensions, will reach his manhood. Stress is to be put on the fact that the shaman is dedicated to the Twelve Tengris who descended into the staff.

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[14] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977. Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 55–56. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 248–706.

[15] See also Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 249, *sq.*, for shamanism among the Daghor Mongols.

PHYSICAL TRAINING 756

A small drum is prepared for the boy and the father 868 teaches him to beat it in the right tempo; he teaches him the usual prayers. Every day in the morning and at evening he will sit cross-legged with his father in front of the picture and the staff, beating the drum, receiving instruction and asking for explanations. The father teaches him the pasting of flags and streamers with white, red, and yellow paper, the cutting of all kinds of paper designs; the kneading of all kind of dough figures used during the rites; the application on red paper of the usual seals. He also teaches him the different kinds of dancing, and how to attack imagined spirits or defend himself against them, with sword and spear; and how to use the whip, the staff, and the knife. Special stress is put on athletic exercises in order to strengthen and supple the muscles and bones, and also on all kinds of acrobatics, climbing up poles, jumping on tables, executing dangerous pirouettes. Because all the shamanist [535] rites are accompanied by dances, peculiar stress is put on moving with grace and elegance with measured steps to the beating of the drum. The best dancers among the shamans are very celebrated all over the country. All shamans are acrobats and fine dancers.

Most shamans are proficient in the art of producing tones and words without any motion of the mouth, so that the listeners are induced to refer the sound to spirits speaking in the drum and answering the questions proposed to them by the shaman. They are wonderful ventriloquists. This art is used at the time the spirits are called up in the drums, and long conversations are held between them and the shamans.

The apprentice, from the very beginning, accompanies his father in performing shamanist rites. He learns with enthusiasm and vigor, for the boy is eager to beat drums, play the acrobat, dance with the elders and imitate them, but at the same time he sees and hears his father conjuring the spirits, calling them up, attacking and chasing evil spirits. He sees the awful rictus of his mouth and jaws, the painful contortions of his whole body; he hears him, worked into a frenzy, predicting the future; and sees his eyes in a fixed stare. Hundreds of times he sees and hears the same rites performed for sick men, and hears the shaman talking to the villagers at the general rites of spring and autumn. Because the [796] same things are said and done over and over again, he remembers them all by heart. The novelty, however, of beating drums, wears off very fast, and unconsciously he starts living in a new world of spirits, acting and thinking in the way of the shamans. He believes his father and the other shamans, he becomes hypnotized by their words, gestures, and acts, and he starts seeing and hearing spirits himself. He gets the conviction that, protected by the twelve spirits to whom he is dedicated, he can also subdue evil spirits and act as the agent of good ones, and he becomes a shaman.

Helping his father and other shamans for years and having himself alone performed rites, eventually when

his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his in- 756
cumbency. No more formalities are required, for he is 868
not the shaman attached to the village and does not live
at its expense.

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very
low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or
Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but
because the apprentices never attend schools, they are [212]
not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. The
elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese
characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the
pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most
of the time they print the inscriptions by means of en-
graved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few [212]
small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by
the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor
friends. These prayer books are not printed. Mon-
guors and shamans assured me that they did not pos-
sess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder
that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It
was always impossible to get a coherent explanation
from the shamans about religious subjects. They do [779]
not pore over books or rack their brains over theories
or philosophical or religious problems. Their science
is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales
concerning a number of spirits, told during the perform-
ance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the ap-
prentices would consist of being taught about the same
items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans [796]
at the rites of spring and autumn. More will be said
about the subject.

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

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A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, 756 538 are told about powerful shamans who lived in former times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall con- [868] clusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists 756 158 that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of [582] shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communi- 756 292 ties or private families, dresses in the same way as the Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special

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costume, as follows: a long Chinese gown of black cloth, 756
with a large flat collar, in the manner of the Taoist 292
priests, crossing over the chest and buttoned on the left side. Over the gown he wears a coat of silk, adorned with flowers or dragons, having large sleeves and reaching below the knees. The coat is similar to the one worn under the empire by distinguished Chinese. The black color of the gown is unusual in the country and is confined to the shamans. Stress should be put on the startling difference existing between the simple official dress of the Monguor shaman and the official dress of many shamans among the nomads, whose main article of costume consists of a large mantle adorned with superstitious paraphernalia and symbols. Clothed in the mantle the shamans feel themselves possessed by their spirits; without it, they cannot perform their rites. This mantle is said to be worn by the black shamans living in the mountains south of the Hsining River. No traditions are prevalent to the effect that the Monguor shamans used the mantle in former times, but it is always said that they never wore it.

CINCTURE

The long black gown is belted by a long strip of black 756
cotton, wrapped a couple of times around the waist, as 293
all lay people do. The shamanists among the Mongols of Ordos take off their girdle [16] four times a year, while performing their important rite by means of prostrations, facing the sun. Chingis having escaped with his life from pursuing brigands took off his girdle, put it around his neck, and facing the sun, prostrated nine times.[17] Among the Monguors the girdle has not the same importance. Monguor shamans and shamanists never take off the sash when they honor "Heaven and all the spirits" or perform rites.

The Mongols of Ordos, if the bridegroom happens to become sick on the day of the marriage, marry the bride with his belt.[18] The Monguors do not perform such marriages, but when a girl has relations with a traveling guest, she asks for his girdle and name. If she becomes pregnant, she ceremoniously marries the girdle, is called Mrs. so-and-so, according to the name of the guest, and her child is similarly named.[19]

CAPS [20]

The Monguor shamans use three kinds of caps, all 756
three black in color: the first is a kind of toque, a brim- 292
less pliable bonnet having a tassel of dog hair on top. 302
This cap is similar to that of the Chinese Taoist priests. On the top of the cap, next to the tassel of dog hair, a hole is left through which is seen a hairpin which holds

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[16] A. Mostaert, *Dictionaire Ordos*, 84.

[17] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes, Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Chap. II, paragraph 103, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1949.

[18] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 176.

[19] L. Schram, *Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, 130.

[20] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148.

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the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear 756
the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites. 292
302

> Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their [175] heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

> The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of [648] dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a 756
shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the per- 534
formance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The [766] boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their 000

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[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap.

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Apprentices who receive part of their 756
training for a couple of years from another shaman, dur- 534
ing the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their [874]
master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters.

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil 756
spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches 413
wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are at- 293
tached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted.

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks 756
his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for 793
the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang.* (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order

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[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmbergs, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

756 793 to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it.

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

756 177 171 The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions.

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

756 776 171 The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god.

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

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the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults 756
of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), 776
Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu 171
(provider of rain), Hsüan-t'an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts'ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly.

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

"GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS"

The Monguor shamans during the performance of 175
their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert be- 776
fore the public that they are the real disciples of the 756
god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter.

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,[27] and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.[28]

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from

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[27] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2–3.

[28] Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658–1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T'ang, he was created "war god" by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

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Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. 776
Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 756
109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller 175
than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three 756
rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or 778
brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard 776
are another three or more rooms for storage of all 346
kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the
kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the 532
god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depict- 756
ing the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but 776
associated with other gods. In the central panel the 346
god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary
fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black 532
beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

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[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

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belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with 756
thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On 776
the eastern panel is painted another general, the god 346
of the Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same pos- 532
ture. On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves; he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery.

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the "register of the living and the dead" (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the "Tablet to hook souls" (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: "Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace." All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, "the pursuit of the evil ones," explaining that "the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained." [22] What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hail- 756
storm. The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and 532
in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out

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[22] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220.

of his large sleeves—he is the spirit of the clouds. Another corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms. 756 532

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them. [177]

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, since they still honor their own old spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. 756 776 532

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the

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group, and also, that on old images painted before the 756
Moslem rebellion, the twelve warriors and their servants 776
were represented as Mongols, and not Chinese, and 532
further, that a couple of modern shamans recently added to their pictures of the warriors, three Chinese girls riding on horseback, whom they called the "three small grandmothers," the *San Hsiao Niang Niang*.

The conviction existing among the Monguor shamans that the Twelve Tengris are their original and proper spirits is too general and too definite, and the behavior of the shamans toward them is too significant to be simply ignored or explained away. Further, the Monguors and the shamans know very well that shamans are not Taoist priests, and for that reason they call them *Bö* or *Fa shih*, "Masters of Magic," and not *Tao-shih*, "Masters of Tao," and they know very well that the rites performed by the shamans are not the same as those performed by Taoist priests in the country. Therefore, a rational explanation should exist.

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS TRACED 756

In the last month of the year the houses had to be 776
cleansed and purified of all kinds of evil influences and
spirits. At the palace of the prince a group of young boys, 796
frightening and cursing the evil spirits hidden in the rooms, cried out that the "12 spirits" were on the way to hunt down and annihilate them; a group of 12 men, disguised as animals, led by the official exorcist (*Fang hsiang*) started pursuing the evil spirits.[33]

The eleventh on the list of the pursuing spirits was the "tiger," who was reputed the fiercest destroyer of all producers of calamities. Tigers are supposed to be the fiercest enemies of evil spirits . . . the tiger was the first dancer among the 12 performers of the rite.[34]

The tiger was the white tiger.[35]

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[33] Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 246, Paris, Boccard, 1927.

[34] Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique*, 319, 299-320, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[35] *Ibid.*, 306. Ch. de Harlez, *Le livre des esprits et des immortels*, 176, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, 1893: "The nature of the white tiger, according to the *Shen-hsien t'ung chien* (18th century) seems to be at least ambiguous . . . the tiger is the strongest expression of the *Yang* principle (principle of power); the tiger lives 1,000 years and becomes white only after 500 years; its claws and the powder obtained by the burning of its skin are the most powerful; the thunder is its voice, talismans; or is produced by the noise of walking heavenly tigers. . . . In the regions of the west, at Fung lung, lived a white tiger accustomed to drinking human blood; every year the people offered a human sacrifice to it in order that it might desist from killing men. Chang Tao-ling (patron of the Taoists) ordered it to desist from this practice; the tiger left the country and disappeared forever. . . ."

Owen Lattimore, The gold tribe 'Fishkin Tatars' of the lower Sungari, *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* **40**: 62, 1933: ". . . spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars (of the shamans), though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of 'great spirit' ceremonies . . . I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar; he was regarded as a person much to be dreaded." "Shamans rely on animal spirits, the eagle, sturgeon, weasel, the *ulki* (an animal of the squirrel family), and otter appear to be the commonest familiars [of the shamans]."

On the doors, on New Year's, was pasted the image of the tiger.[36] 756 776

These texts excerpted from the book *Lün heng* written by Wang Ch'ung, who died in A.D. 80–100, record rites practiced during the centuries before our era, and reveal that the twelve spirits were supposed the most powerful in the matter of driving out evil spirits, and that among the twelve, the White Tiger was paramount. 796

The cult of the twelve spirits led by their chieftan (Fang hsiang) combatting evil spirits seems to have been very popular in China. It was very tenacious, for it was still performed during the Liao dynasty, A.D. 907–1125. Wittfogel and Feng note: " . . . at the end of the year, 12 shamans, led by a great 'Wu,' sang, shouted, rang bells, and walked (or danced) around the tents with arrows in their hands, fighting off the spirits. Then they retreated to special tents for seven days."[37]

The cult of the twelve spirits of the Monguor shamans seems to be related to the old cult of the twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount, the whole group being led by a chieftain, the Fang hsiang. Although in their pictures twelve warriors are represented plus the black rider on a white tiger, they always call the picture "the picture of the Twelve Tengris," and not the picture of thirteen spirits, or the picture of the White Tiger. They assert that they are the servants of the twelve spirits, their apprentices are dedicated to the twelve spirits, and the Monguors who honor the picture at home as a protector of the family, always call it, "The picture of the Twelve Tengris." They no longer know that the twelve warriors represented, in old times, twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount. However, all these facts seem to evidence that it is deeply ingrained in their consciousness that they honor Twelve Tengris, and no more, which are the enemies and destroyers of evil spirits. What is really astonishing is that, notwithstanding that the origin of the cult is completely lost, they continue to paint twelve warriors, and to put in the center of the picture a big white tiger mounted by a rider holding, not weapons, but a knotty staff in his *hand. In this way* the prominent role played in old times by the white tiger seems to be conserved, for a tiger occupies the center of the picture. What is even 756 776 [532]

W. Heissig, Schamanen im Kürye-Banner, *Folklore Studies* 3: 1: 44, Peking, 1944. The shaman in the Kürye-Banner wears an apron during the performances, representing the skin of a brown spotted tiger.

Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, 229. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 146 Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 344–352; 2: 144, 160, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[36] Granet, *op. cit.*, 336.

[37] Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, (907–1125), *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 218, 1949. See also Eberhard, "Ich habe es für sehr wahrscheinlich dass die Tiertänze der No-Feste auf Turkestanischen fremde Einflüsse zuruck gehen," *Lokalkulturen, op. cit.* 1: 188.

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more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed 756
by the shamans against hail is called, all over the coun- 776
try, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint.

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris,* the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen,* the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Mon- 756
guors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols 184
and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the [174]
share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same.

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave

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cult—but in spite of these scanty facts our problem remains unsolved.[38]

MONGUOR SHAMANS—WU OF OLD CHINA—SHAMANS OF CENTRAL ASIA

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The leader of the twelve spirits is, according to the texts, the Fang hsiang, an exorcist belonging to the class of sorcerers who were specialists in the art of neutralizing all kinds of harmful influences and used by the princes for that purpose.[39] "This group, called *Wu*, was an old priesthood of China, spontaneously produced by the animistic religion . . . it still bore supreme sway in the former Han dynasty" (202 B.C.–A.D. 8).[40] The Wu included the kinds of male and female shamans that are encountered all over Asia (Wu are recorded among the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C.).[41] They were proficient in exorcising spirits of evil and illness, calling down gods and human spirits, going into trances and being possessed, telling the future.[42] Later the Wu were recognized by the official priesthood, who used them in their official ceremonies for calling down spirits and regulating the seats of the gods at sacrifices.[43]

In the *Chou-li*, 1122–256 B.C., are recorded the duties performed at court by these *Wu* scorcerers many centuries before our era, in summoning good spirits in order to drive out evil ones.[44]

Wittfogel and Feng write:

> In our translation we have called the *wu*, shamans. This term is generally used to designate the religious functionaries of Inner and Northern Asia, whose status does not depend upon an officially institutionalized position but is derived from power received "directly from the spirits as a gift or grant." In Asia two types of shamans may be distinguished—the arctic and subarctic. The latter exhibit less ecstasy and only rarely have recourse to frenzy or trance in the performance of their magic and prayers. Among the Ch'i-tan, as among most Altaic peoples, shamanism was definitely "subarctic" and possession was more the exception than the rule.[45]

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The Wu in China up to the present time act in the same way, using bells, drums, swords, scepter, whip, dagger, dancing, and the calling down of spirits.[46] At present they are called *Shih-kung* (masters). They represent themselves publicly as priests of Taoism.[47] Chinese law considers them as belonging to the wide class of secular Taoist priests.[48] The capacity of becoming Shih-kung can hardly be obtained except by inheritance, from a line of able priestly ancestors. They adopt no pupil who is not the son of a colleague,[49] and they use Taoist gods for their own purpose.[50] 756

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[38] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerers and rulers*, 92-95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[39] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 200.

[40] J. J. De Groot, *The religious system of China* 6: 1206, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1201.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1190.

[43] *Ibid.*, 1191.

[44] Edouard Biot, *Le Tcheouli ou rites du Tcheou* 2: 102, 103, Paris, Duprat, 1851.

[45] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 217. See also page 291, note.

[46] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.

[47] *Ibid.*, 1245.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1251.

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CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS SPECIFICALLY SHAMANIST

The Monguor shamans seem to belong to the Altaic classification. The traditions concerning the antiquity of the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the preference of the Monguor shamans for the cult are not to be overlooked. An obvious reason for this preference may be found in the fact that the range of activities of the Tengris is more far reaching than that of the Wu tao shen, the god of the Five Roads, because the Tengris combat all kinds of evil spirits while the god of the Five Roads and his associates combat only the hail spirits.

However, the basic reason for the preference among 774
the shamans for the cult of the Twelve Tengris is 756
deeply rooted in the peculiar philosophy of shamanism as it exists in Asia. According to Dioszegi, there existed

> two notions, from the time Shamanism was still in formation, concerning the combats of the shamans with evil spirits: the first assumes that the shaman himself, having taken the shape of an animal, is engaged in the struggle; the second, that the guardian spirit of the shaman, having taken the shape of an animal, waged war.[51]

The Tungus tell of two shamans who changed themselves into bear and tiger, fighting in the presence of the people, and of shamans who assume one of the animal spirit forms to travel a long way.[52] Concerning this philosophy Shirokogoroff notes:

> . . . the group of spirits associated, at least by name, with animals is very numerous . . . by the Northern Tungus these are not considered as animals but manifestations assumed by the spirits; there are the tiger, bear, wolf, fox, snake, dragon, deer, roe-deer, dog, horse, carp, cuckoos, falcons, hawks, eagle, etc.[53]

The old specific shamanist concept concerning animal-like beings (spirits) waging war with evil spirits lies at the base of the Tengris cult. It was realized in the rite of the twelve animal spirits who, long before our era, drove the evil spirits out of the palace of the prince.

This peculiar old philosophy must have caused the ancestors of our Monguor shamans to choose for themselves the cult of the Twelve Tengris and to dedicate themselves to these animal-like Tengris. Today the Monguor shamans unconsciously continue to perform the same dedication and to practice the same cult. The philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White 774 Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against 756 hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore [177] among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

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[49] *Ibid.*, 1252.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1254.

[51] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia* 2: 315, Budapest, 1952.

[52] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 371.

[53] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 174.

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Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the 771

> South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bō), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors 771 and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against 628 shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

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[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94-98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* **48**: 493, 1953.

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more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were 771 628
added to them.[58]

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs 756
followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction 175
of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have 795
known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among 575
barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the 756
Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, [776]
spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests

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[58] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29-35, 1929.

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existing in China from the dawn of history, who are 756 considered akin with the shamans of Central Asia; that the Monguor shamans probably entered the guild of the Taoist priests before the catastrophe which befell Lamaism in 1723 in order to save their institution, but that they still harbor the conviction that they are genuine shamans and not Taoist priests. The fact that during the performance of their rites they act as shamans, and not as Taoist priests, will give evidence for this assumption.

VII. THE KURTAIN

THE TYPE OF THE KURTAIN

Among the Monguors there is encountered still another type of possessed man whom they call a *Kurtain* (Tibetan, *Skurgdien*), and whom the Chinese call *Fa-la-shih* or *Ku-wai-tien*. He is found most frequently in genuine Monguor families, and plays an important role in the religious life of the Monguors.

A farmer, shepherd, or laborer—anybody, old or young, poor or rich, even a lama may become a Kurtain but well-to-do or rich men seldom do so. Several times I was told, by old Monguors, that in former times in San-ch'uan a woman subject of the Li T'u-ssu discharged that duty.

A Kurtain is a man who, all of a sudden, is seen to 756 be possessed by some spirit. It happens most often at 757 the time of a terrific storm, when he is helping combat the hail spirits, or at the feast in the spring when he sees a possessed shaman worked into a frenzy, or at night while attending the awful ceremonies which are performed to appease the avenging spirit of a suicide. Suddenly he starts speaking indistinctly, nervously gesticulating with his arms and hands, acting in an unusual way. Arriving at the temple supported and led by his companions, he declares himself to be possessed by so-and-so, a spirit who compels him to be his disciple. Such Kurtains, the Monguors told me, are usually the genuinely possessed. They always added, however, that they suspected the authenticity of Kurtains who become possessed by dint of weeks and weeks of exacting exercises in which they study how to imitate the behavior and trances of old Kurtains.

The "Kurtainship" is never inherited in the family. 756 The possessed is singled out by the spirit himself to be his disciple, and after his death, the spirit chooses another disciple in another family. Thus, no duty is imposed on the family to continue providing a successor to the Kurtain, and the honoring of this spirit. Kurtains are not like the shamans described above, whose families are bound to continue the service of the Twelve Tengris accepted by their ancestors. Shaman boys must receive a training by their masters in order to learn how to become possessed. Upon the genuine Kurtain, however, the possession is forced unexpectedly and then for the first time the Kurtain starts an exacting training 756 which lasts for several weeks. This consists of dancing, vaulting, fencing practices, for he has to be in top trim in order to appear on the stage. He must discipline himself to the rules of a possessed man, in order to acquire the required disposition favorable to ulterior possession by his spirit.

It is customary for spirits to have only one disciple in the village. When he dies another appears, usually after a short time, but occasionally even after a long time, to discharge the duty. When a Kurtain grows old, his spirit abandons him and chooses a younger man to take his place. Kurtains, according to the Monguors, are very often really savage and violent when they are in the full bloom of their youth. The people are more scared of them than of shamans. Later, as they grow older, they become more moderate and calm. The genuine Kurtains, according to the Monguors, have their nerves easily excited. They do not look straight at the interlocutor, shun the company of men, and are rather fond of not talking. I got the same impression. Monguors do not trust much those who brag and boast about their prodigious achievements. It is also said that many Kurtains have their nerves on edge and feel excited and anxious between the fifteenth and the twentieth of the month. They feel hysterical and terrified at the time of storms.

BY WHAT SPIRITS ARE KURTAINS POSSESSED?

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The Kurtains, who are not very numerous, are said to be mostly possessed by spirits of Taoism, never by the Twelve Tengris of the shamans or by the Heavenly Spirit. It has already been said that many temples of the villages are dedicated to the "Wu-tao-shen," some to the dragon spirit, others to the spirit of horses, or the spirit of cows; a few to Ho-hu and to the Mother goddess, to the god of Riches and Wealth, but in all those temples there is always in evidence a nice sedan chair where the statue of the Mother goddess or the dragon god or Wu-tao is enthroned. The reason is that it is customary to have a sedan chair in each village to be carried in the processions. Most of the Monguors honor at home the picture of the same Taoist spirits, although some honor Lamaistic deities. It has been noted above that in a few villages there is also a Buddhist temple apart from the temple of the village, but these temples are never the center of the religious life of the village. No wonder that most of the Kurtains claim to be the disciples of Taoist spirits. A few Kurtains claim to be possessed by deities of Lamaism.

AUTHORIZATION OF TESTS OF THE KURTAINS

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The Monguors, having found themselves tricked many times, harbor a guarded and skeptical mood, and distrust new Kurtains. Since they suspect the au-

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thenticity of their possession, the Kurtain has to provide 756
evidence of being possessed, which has to be tested and 571
checked by qualified men, before they can enjoy the benefit of a "diploma" showing their credentials. Not only the Monguors but the lamas ask for a serious test.

If the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a Lamaist 756
deity whose incarnation is living at the lamasery, the 787
test is provided by this Living Buddha himself, who 571
is the best qualified man for the examination. If there is no such incarnation at the lamasery, the Kurtain has to invite the Living Buddha, or a Fa-t'ai, to offer him a gift, and implore him to make the test. In case the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism, the chiefs of the village urge him to pass the test before a Living Buddha anyhow, for only the Living Buddhas are supposed to possess the required yardsticks *ad hoc*. Old Kurtains cannot test the authenticity of new Kurtains. In the event the Kurtain declares himself to be possessed by a deity of Lamaism, the community of the village defrays the expenses required for the test. If he declares himself to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism he has to defray the expenses himself.

The test of a Kurtain possessed by a Taoist spirit is 756
carried out as follows: the Living Buddha, who sits on 787
his throne under the porch of the main temple with all the lamas, while the temple yard is packed to capacity with a curious and interested crowd, orders the Kurtain to sit beneath the steps.

The Kurtain wears the usual gown worn by the Monguors (seldom a red one) bound round the waist with a sash of red cloth. On a piece of red cloth, covering his head, is fixed a small copper mirror, shining on his forehead; a large red ribbon encircles his head, on which are sewn a lot of small bells. If he happens to be possessed by the spirit Wu tao shen, the spirit of the five roads, he wears a crown of that spirit. Over a large "cloud collar,"[1] which comes down over his shoulders, passes a red rope to which is attached a bigger copper mirror adorned by red, yellow, green, and blue ribbons or *khata*, dangling on his chest. On his back are sewn a couple of red and green handkerchiefs.

He sits erect on a low Chinese table, his legs always [516]
sprawled apart, imitating the exact posture of the god of the Five Roads, even though he may be possessed by the dragon god. The representation of this Chinese warrior, his theatrical attitude seen everywhere in all the temples, must have impressed the Monguors to a very large extent. On the knees of the Kurtain is

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[1] This collar seems to hint at a part of the garments worn by the old Mongol princes "Ils (les princes) ont encore une autre forme (l'habit) : un collet nommé 'Jaqa' sur les épaules et sur le dos, et qui finit des deux cotés en pointe aigüe ; il ressemble à un echiquier. Ce bord pend sur les deux épaules. Il est toujours fait en brocart ou en peau de zibeline." H. Serruys, *Pei-lou fong-sou*. Les coûtumes des esclaves septentrionaux, *Monumenta Serica* 10: 145, 1945. For the "cloud collar" (*Yün-chien*), see S. Cammann, The symbolism of the cloud collar motif, *Art Bull.*, March, 1951.

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placed a sword, and near him a dagger and a long whip. 756
He never uses the drum, which is the specific tool of 787
the shamans.

Shamans, Kurtains, and all kinds of people possessed by good spirits, are everywhere accustomed to assuming the duty of defending their customers against evil spirits. They are fighters and protectors and therefore use all the weapons befitting the job. The Kurtain, in his theatrical attitude, is most aggressive; in his acts he is violent and savage. Shamans, however, by means of their elegant dances, first try to soothe the ruffled feathers of the malignant spirits and to make their spirit protectors feel well disposed.

A fire of cypress twigs is lit before the Kurtain, who prays some version of Om Mani or the *swork'a* prayer of his spirit protector, inviting him to descend into him, while the lamas beat the drums. The Kurtain becomes excited and starts shaking his head, causing the small bells attached to his headdress to ring, making sounds like the bells on the bridle of a running horse. He shakes them more and more furiously, for a long time, becoming more and more excited, and is supposed to be possessed. The shaking of the head is the specific behavior of the Kurtain; hence the Chinese all over the country call him the "head shaking Kurtain"—*Yao t'eou fa-la-shih*. Then the Living Buddha starts asking him about the danger of hailstorms in the next summer, about the next harvest, the peace in the country, in the village, in the lamasery. Then, jumping up on his feet, he does a really furious dance. Bounding savagely, he works himself into a frenzy and starts playing with his sword, cutting and fencing against imagined spirits. He grabs the whip and beats it against the ground with deafening blows. Chasing and pursuing spirits, he jumps in all directions pretending to pierce with his dagger one enemy after another. Finally, dripping with sweat, having used all his weapons, one after another, he is ordered by the Living Buddha to sit down and keep quiet.

Then the Living Buddha asks him of whose spirit he is the disciple, and asks for explanations and the history of his spirit. In the event that the answers satisfy the Buddha and the dances are in conformity with the choreographic rules, the Buddha puts a *khatag* around his neck and declares that he is the genuine disciple of so-and-so (a spirit). Holding in his hands some ropes of cloth, dyed red, he blows on them several times, as Living Buddhas do when they bestow special blessings. He ties them around the neck of the dancer, takes a handful of barley and throws it on him, saying: "Spirit so-and-so is truly your spirit, act accordingly in order to honor him." The Kurtain is then declared officially to be the accredited disciple of the spirit, and all the evidence seems to substantiate the fact of his possession. Having succeeded in the test, the esteem of the people follows the Kurtain in the wake of his achievement. His prestige is enhanced, and surrounded with an aura of success; he will start a new career.

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However, if he does not satisfy the requirements, and 756
does not acquit himself creditably, if his answers are 787
wrong and his dances inadequate and inelegant, he fails abjectly. The angry Buddha, rebuking and snubbing him, pulls off one of his boots and throws it contemptuously and disdainfully at the head of the Kurtain, upbraiding his impudent audacity, saying: "You are not possessed by a spirit, but by an ox, go on." All hopes of the candidate are dashed forever; the trust of the people in him is uprooted. He goes away discomfited, dishonorably evicted, and the possession is finished. The Kurtain cannot withstand the verdict of a Buddha who blocks his way. Twice I attended such a test, once at the monastery of T'ien-t'ang and once at Ch'ie-bzan. I inquired about the fantastic tales current all over the country, concerning the fact that the authenticity of the Kurtains can be tested by making them lick white-hot iron, pierce their chest with a sword, walk and sit on thorns. Always the answers were that in olden times when the Kurtains were more potent, they could stand such tests, but the present Kurtains are not made of the same stuff as in olden times, and therefore these tests can no longer be made.

TESTS OF THE KURTAINS POSSESSED BY A LAMAIST DEITY

The Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities seem to have possessions of a lower grade. The Kurtain of Seerkok was said to be possessed by the deity Kortong (?) whose incarnation was one of the minor Living Buddhas staying at the monastery. The Kurtain of Erh-ku-lung was possessed by the minor deity Niebturk bzan whose incarnation, of second or third rank, was living at the monastery. The pictures of both deities, which I saw at the Karwa of these incarnations, represented the familiar type of the hundreds of Buddhas quietly sitting crosslegged absorbed in meditation, but the men they possessed were none the less furious Kurtains. Learned lamas did not have any knowledge of Kurtains possessed by the so-called guardians of the faith, which are pictured as terrible, cruel warriors. They asserted that all the possessions were manifestations of minor deities, and they could not easily explain how furious Kurtains were possessed by peaceful deities. Concerning the question of the possession of a lama by a Lamaist deity, they deemed it possible, but did not remember such cases in the country.

I never had the opportunity to attend a test ceremony for the kind of Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities,
but the information acquired from Living Buddhas, [115]
lamas, and laymen, seemed to show that little difference existed between the tests of both kinds of Kurtains. The subjects, their avocation, and training are similar, as well as the theatrical performance in the court of the main temple. The Kurtain is attired in the same way and uses the same weapons in the same way, but he must wear on his head the crown of the five Dhyana

[p.92(B)]

Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his 756
deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is pro- 787
claimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him.

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance,
not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning [844]
time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution.

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to 756
predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in 185
autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a
well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator
of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts [627]
and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers 756
once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious 579
trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display.

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[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *Wu* arsonist.

[p.93(A)]

The feast is celebrated all over the country. The 756
Kurtain is dressed by the lamas in a splendid, long green 577
gown with large sleeves, cut according to the style of the gown worn by Taoist priests. On his back are fixed a couple of small flags, and on his head he wears a helmet. He wears a sword, and holds in his hands a bow and three arrows. He is costumed like the warriors often seen in the theatrical exhibitions performed by Chinese actors.

The Living Buddha Kortong, incarnation of the deity, opened the pageant in the main temple, sitting on his throne presiding over the ceremony. The lamas, cross-legged, sat in a circle in the temple. The Kurtain sat on his low Chinese table in the center of the gathering of the monks with his legs sprawled wide apart. The throng crowded into the forecourt, following the display by looking through the open doors of the temple. The lamas started singing in unison the *swork'a,* and the Kurtain shook his head, ringing his small bells. Becoming excited, he danced his furious dance, worked himself into a frenzy, and played with his sword, whip, and dagger. Then he ran out of the temple, shot three arrows in the air, drank a draught of ox blood out of a bucket and spat it on some handfuls of barley which he threw in the direction of the audience, who tried to catch them in the skirts of their gowns. These grains are supposed to cure all kinds of illness and procure [842]
fertility for the women. However, the grains once they fall on the ground lose their magical efficacy.

Then followed the customary questions. The Kurtain all of a sudden again became so mad and wild as to unsheath his sword, and killed an employee of the tribunal of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung, who was attending the show. The Kurtain fled after his savage exploit and disappeared. The lamasery was saddled with the trouble and had to pay a very substantial indemnity. This fact, well known all over the country, is always recalled when Monguors talk about the violence and ferocity of the possessed Kurtains. It is no wonder that, during the exhibitions of Kurtains in the village temples, some people are often frightened out of their wits, take to their heels in panic, and leave the temple.

It happens more often that the Kurtain troubles the 756
feast of the spring, performed by shamans in the village. 578
At the moment when the people are devoutly and happily listening to the prophesies of the shamans, concerning the auspicious prospects for the harvest, a Kurtain arises and furiously asserts that his spirit has revealed to him that terrible hailstorms will destroy the crops of the village. In the southern valley, in the village called "the Eleventh House of the Li T'u-ssu," in 1914, a serious fight started between the shamans and the Kurtain, who was carried away unconscious. The Kurtain brought suit against the shamans at the Chinese court. The prefect delegated the guild of the Taoist priests to settle this matter between religious people.

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The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, 756
offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the 578
deity who protected the village.

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain 756
was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging 292
to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger.

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because 756
they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These 571
yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say.

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is en- 756
countered a category of possessed men and women who 771
seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic."

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely 114
with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject.

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[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

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VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

128 Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910–1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions.

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

771 It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources.

779 It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism.

829 However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huangchung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the

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question of whether a substantial principle underlies the 829
soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of 114
the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the 829
Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main 869
feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children 782
every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking
Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for [789]
as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

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anxious moments of the terrible events caused by evil 829
spirits, which the good spirits could not master. 869

Every day, in the early morning, they climb with 782
their grandfather to the top of the roof, or go into the courtyard before the *manikan*[1] to honor "Heaven and all the spirits," doing the Wei-sang,[2] and looking at the old man who prostrates himself devoutly, they invoke with him "Heaven and all the spirits" and recite Om Mani, in order to get blessings and protection against the alarming evil spirits. When somebody is smitten with a severe disease, they repeat after grandfather, "Heaven and all the spirits" save our mother, save our father, Om Mani, Om Mani. The children know that at home, the altar and the manikan are the most respected items; they know that spirits preside at the gate of the courtyard, at the well, at the stables, and that they protect the cattle. They know at what time and how they are to be honored, and what is to be done to avoid their wrath. The children live at home in an atmosphere of religion and fear, and when they grow up they are convinced that honoring the good spirits is a requisite for the reaping of good crops, the breeding of healthy cattle, the enjoying of the daily bread, and the protection from evil spirits on the prowl to hurt them.

A logical consequence of such a frame of mind is 777
that Monguors never perform any important act with-

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[1] In the middle of the courtyard is built a circular manger in which is planted a tall post. On top of the post are often the Lamaist designs of sun and moon and a circle; a flag is attached to the post printed with Tibetan texts and the "Wind Horse" (Chinese, *Lu-ma;* Tibetan, *rlung-rta*) carrying the jewel symbol (*Norbu*). It is called *manikan*, that is, "the mani post," because the popular "Om Mani" is printed on it.

[2] *Wei-sang* (fdzan garga): *Wei* is a Chinese word meaning "kindle"; *sang* is the Tibetan word *Bsans* meaning "cypress incense." It is the rite performed before sunrise, daily during the first and fourth moon, or only on the first, eighth, or fifteenth of the month, by the heads of Monguor families for "Heaven and all the spirits"; it is also enacted simultaneously with most of the important rites. Some straw is spread in a small oven, a few pinches of pounded cones and leaves of cypress are strewn upon it, and a few pinches of flour, of roasted wheat or spelt, and a few drops of pure water are sprinkled; then all is lit and the odoriferous cypress smoke billows up. It is an "odoriferous offering," not a purifying rite. To these three essential components some devout people like to add a pinch of the six usual pounded spices, dried flowers, red or white sugar, threads of five colors, a little butter or fat; some use wine instead of water, and blow the horn and prostrate themselves three times. Prayers are not said at that time. In performing the "big wei-sang" entire branches of cypress are burned. Lamas are fond of the rite, and even during shamanist rites it is observed. The oven wherein the rite is performed is constructed before the manikan or on the roof of the living room; sometimes it is performed on the edge of the manger. In time of epidemics, etc., the whole family never fails to enact the rite as a group. See also Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor), *Anthropos* **47** (1): 43, 1952; **48**: 222, 1953. The famous "Wind Horse" is said by some to bring wealth to the family. Others explain that the horses are offered to the roaming souls in the air (which everybody fears) in order that they might pass unmolested; also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 239–245; also W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **6**: 67.

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out having carefully inquired whether it is propitious 777 and whether it is a lucky day for such an action. They invite a lama of the Red or Yellow Sect, a Chinese Taoist priest, a shaman or Kurtain, to consult about the problem. Such information is required for the starting of agricultural activities, the building or repair of houses, the northern side of which would perhaps not be allowed to be repaired this year, and the southern side only next year, in order not to offend the spirits. These consultations have to be held for marriages, funerals, the starting of a journey, gelding of animals, vaccination against smallpox, even for the perforation of the ear lobes of a girl for wearing earrings.

A Monguor never starts a long journey without having 784 attached to his pigtail some copper coins of the [884] Yüan dynasty to prevent the breaking of arms or legs in the event the horse should fall.[3] The girth of his saddle and the halter have to be made with white hair of cows or with wool; the girdle of the rider, however, requires black hair, to conform with the demands of the spirit of horses. The horseman never ties his horse to the door of a house, for the spirit of the door will hurt him. After finishing his devotion, in passing by an Obo, the horseman is not allowed to linger on top of the pass lest the spirit of the Obo punish him. If a horseman encounters some fresh water running down the road, or if he meets a woman carrying a bucket of water, these are good omens pointing to the favorable disposition of the spirits toward him.

While walking with the intendant at the lamasery of Seerkok, we met two donkeys carrying water. Immediately I received the congratulations of the intendant for the propitiousness of the spirits toward me, and he recounted the fact to the dignitaries of the monastery. However, when a woman carrying an empty basket sees a rider, she flees at full speed, in order to prevent mischief for the horseman. It is a bad sign to see a snake or hare crossing the road, and the traveler avoids encountering a nuptial procession. In carrying the clothes of a deceased at the monastery, the collar and sleeves of the clothes are put on the saddle in such a way as to hang on the left side; the collar and sleeves of clothes of a living man are hung on the right side lest the rider should die soon. Never say to a horseman that he is riding a poor animal, but congratulate him on his strong horse, for otherwise it is unlucky.

Never walk on a sheet of paper, or put your hat on 777 a book, for Buddha will punish you. Never talk about 784 possible calamities or they will certainly harm you. When a new gate is built to a courtyard, a rich man who has plenty of children and particularly boys, has to be invited to pass through the new gate first, in order that the family may become rich and be blessed with 777 children. If a beggar happens to go through first, the 784 gate has to be rebuilt. A guest never enters directly the home of a friend, lest he might harm the family. Never prepare a hare or chicken for dinner for a guest, because it would harm him. When two friends, having a long talk at night, see the black top of the lamp wick showing the shape of a flower, they congratulate each other, smiling, for the spirit promises to both a happy event in the family. If a crow caws on the roof, it has to be driven away immediately lest a member of the family die or get sick. A member of the family will certainly die soon if a parson crow (hooded crow) enters the door; a calamity is imminent if a magpie cries in the evening, even if, at night, foxes howl, horses neigh, and dogs bark. If a hen crows trouble will surely start in the family, the harvest will be bad, and maybe the Moslems will rebel.

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[3] The Ordos Mongol horse breakers never omit attaching to the whip a coin called *Wu chou* in order to prevent dangerous falls. The coin is called the "stirrup coin" because the old character for *Wu* (five) represents two stirrups, the upper parts of which are adjustable. (Communication of Father A. Mostaert.)

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A bride on her wedding day is not allowed to be put on the horse by a "half man," a widower or bachelor; her makeup is not to be done by a "half woman," a widow or a girl, for fear of becoming soon a "half woman." A person dreaming at night about unlucky events, spits for a long time in order that ominous events will not befall him. Never give things to children which are entire, for example, hold over a bit of the frosting of a cookie. The same rule is observed when something is given to a beggar, for fear the guardian spirit of your wealth should wreak vengeance and the family be impoverished. When drinking tea or wine, or eating food, always throw a bit of it over your shoulder, or sprinkle a few drops, thereby feeding the hungry souls roaming all over the world, in order not to be harmed by them. Never urinate in a river, or facing the sun or the moon, or at night in front of the manikan. At night never appear completely naked before the manikan, or you will surely be harmed. All the taboos after childbirth and funerals are scrupulously observed.

These few facts give an insight into the mentality of [156] fear prevailing among the Monguors concerning the whole army of malignant spirits which surround them. No wonder that the whole day long they cast horoscopes in order to avoid all possible harm. These few facts will help to understand the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live and practice their religion.[4]

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[4] The very valuable study of F. Johan Frick and F. Franz [113] Eichinger, Tiere in Voklsleben, Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), 125 sq., Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A. (1925), concerning the region of Huan-Yüan, west of Hsining, inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese, neighbors of the Monguors, provides interesting and minute details related to this special field. Because Tibetans and Chinese are enrolled in the Monguor clans, many of those beliefs and practices are necessarily encountered among the Monguors. The study helps to shed light on the frame of mind and the world of fear in which the Monguors live. Similarly,

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IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in 782
an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant 731
spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle.

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most [132]
dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine.

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused 821
by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole 829
religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits.

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encoun- 782
ters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the 796
Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful 789
scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms.

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Be- [113]
kampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic; the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement

attended by the whole community. Then he sits on his 782
low table, in theatrical military attitude, shaking his 796
head and ringing his bells. At the moment his spirit 789
possesses him, the cypress fire is increased. The whole attendance, kneeling, worships the spirit dwelling in him with incense sticks in their hands and prostrations. The chief of the village, on bended knees, asks humbly first of all, for protection against hail in the summer and for a prophecy concerning the peaceful reaping of the harvest. Then the spirit, by means of the Kurtain, promises a peaceful summer, or specifies what kind of rites have to be performed to achieve the benefit of peace.

In villages where there is no Kurtain, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family, orders the statue to be carried in the sedan chair into the temple yard, while the whole audience kneels with incense sticks in their hands; the cypress fire is lit. The chief, kneeling, asks the spirit about the hail scourge. If the sedan chair becomes so heavy as to crush down the carriers, the prognostication seems awful, and the chief proposes to perform such or such a rite; if the sedan chair continues crushing the carriers, a propitiatory sacrifice is promised, the attendance craves for pardon, and the sedan chair is carried into the temple.

In the first days of the New Year, all over the country, the talk runs only on the predictions proferred in neighboring villages about hailstorms. In every family horoscopes are cast several times. It is a real obsession all over the country and nobody seems to be entirely assured, despite the reassuring answers of the spirits, for so many times the hopes have been illusory. Unfavorable predictions seldom mar the spirit of the festivities of the New Year. After New Year's the busy agricultural season begins with the carrying of fertilizer, plowing, and sowing. The fields turn greener and greener every day, and at the beginning of the fourth moon (May), immediately after the spring rites, performed in order to implore good crops, the preparations for the rites against hail are begun.

A month from now, all over the country, on mountains, or on hills, or on hillocks and knolls in the valleys there will be seen here a stretched goat skin, its legs spread out and pierced with daggers, the head erect with a dagger between the horns, impaled on a pole. There, a rudimentary manikin, its outstretched arms made with boughs, holding a bow and an arrow; next to the manikin a wooden hammer and raven all stuck on poles. These are the places where rites have been performed against hail, and inside some of the mounds dwells the spirit protector against hail, the celebrated White Tiger. Every Monguor village and nearly every Chinese village in the country have many such hills. The outlook for the country has become depressing for the Monguors. [p.97(B)]

RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called 776
the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. 756
Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama [773]
try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman
is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite 789
belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping
with the attributions of the shaman.

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the [774]
temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman.

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills, 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different moun- 796
tains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone.
His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

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[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* **46** (5–6): 954, 1951.

[p.98(B)]

the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the 756
jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The 796
triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the 782
square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and 789
bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put
around them. In the midst are erected the threshing
rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of
which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to
which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled
with the remaining items. The whole is covered with
boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the
ground.

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[2] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

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[2] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items. [171]

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

[p.99(A)]

entombed the living cock in a box. It will live and die 756
under the same circumstances as the dog. 796
I was told by several reliable old men that years ago 782
an old Chinese begger instead of a dog had been buried 789
alive, and that once in a while a little child, stolen in a far-off village, is still buried if, for three or more years in succession, hail has struck the village. The shaman in such cases requires it. Mothers told me that the elders always enjoin them to watch the small children with special care during the time these rites are performed.

When the rite is completed all the participants face the northwest, the direction from which the hailstorms usually come, and throw stones at the evil spirits, howling like madmen, uttering the most obscene threats, and taking the wildest aggressive attitudes, while the shamans crack their whips and dance a threatening dance, conjuring the evil spirit in wild gyrations. The wild act is performed three times. On the spot a big fire is lit with cypress boughs, and all the attendants, shamans included, jump over it in order that the evil spirits may no longer follow them, and in order to get purified. After a last dance in the temple yard, the whole audience enjoy themselves, making fun, eating the pork and mutton, and drinking plenty of wine.

During the whole month, day and night, corvées are imposed by the chief of the village on different shifts of four young men, relieving one another, in order to watch the mound. A small cabin is built for the watchers. Nobody is allowed to approach the mound during the whole month.

This rite gives an insight into the power wielded by the shamans and their controlling influence upon the people, who even resort to human sacrifices, when required by them. The secret about these facts is strictly kept, men are enjoined not to talk about it with women and children, and only after years, and in general terms, do the facts incidentally leak out. Among the Twelve Tengris is the famous White Tiger, the dread and terror of evil spirits, and for that reason the rite is called the Rite of the White Tiger.

THE RITES OF THE TAOISTS AGAINST HAIL

The Taoists are mostly invited to perform their rite 782
in neighboring villages inhabited by Chinese. Once in 789
a while they are invited by Monguors who recanted their origin, but often, when the hail has struck these villages, the more efficient Monguor shaman with a greater reputation is invited the following year to try his rites, even by Chinese.

The Taoists use three kinds of rites: the rite of the spirit Wang-lin-kuan, of the goddess Niang-Niang, and of the five thunderbolts (wu-tien-cheng). Here, also, is a mystifying thing. Although the Taoists in the country do not overtly honor the White Tiger, they always write the name of the White Tiger on the stake buried in the mound, before the name of the spirits 782 whom they officially use for combating hail. 789

Is it far fetched to suppose that the Taoists do this because it is universally recognized that the rite of the shamans, using the White Tiger, outranks their own, and that in order to succeed they must act in this way?[3]

A stunning fact also is that the Taoists, and lamas of the Red Sect in the country, when performing that kind of rite are very fond of using nearly the same group of disparate items to be buried in the pit, except for the white living dog and cock. Can the sacrifice of two living beings be too basically shamanist to be performed by pure Taoists?

STRENGTHENING OF THE OLD MOUNDS

In keeping with the basic principle of shamanism, the 782 spirits after some time lose their powers and are subject 796 to decay. Consequently, they have to be nurtured [776] and strengthened in order that they may continue to help their followers effectively. The rite performed against hail, the pit with all its disparate items, and the famous rider and the White Tiger buried inside it are liable to lose their protectiveness, so every year more power has to be added to the mounds. In every village old mounds exist, built by the ancestors. According to the indication of the guardian spirit of the village, the building of a new mound is ordered from time to time because the last one has lost its power. However, the villagers believe that some effect can still be obtained from the old mounds, and in order not to lose that benefit, they strengthen every year the efficacy of all the old mounds built inside the boundaries of the village. The shaman is invited by the Monguors to do the job; the Taoist priest is invited in the Chinese villages, but seldom in Monguor villages. Both shaman and Taoist act in the same way. Small paper banners are prepared and wooden hammers and ravens, and also stakes with cabalistic designs and the inscription, "The Throne of the White Tiger god," and manikins made with boughs, holding bow and arrows. All these items are smoked by the shaman, over burning cypress boughs, before they are used. The rite takes a whole day.

A sheep is offered in the temple; water is poured in its ear to be sure the spirit agrees to the victim. The sheep is killed and offered, a dance and the beating of a drum is performed by the shaman. A "throne" (stake) is thrust in the ground in front of the temple

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[3] F. W. Grootaers, in his very interesting monograph (*op. cit.*, 238), notes two inscriptions encountered on the frescoes of the temples of the god of the five roads in Wan-Ch'üan (Kalgan) "Holding bound the wolf and the tiger" and also, "Mountain general who holds bound the wolf and the tiger, *Wu-tao* god who catches the monsters" and he notes these inscriptions are, of course, not the products of the local imagination, but are copies by the local calligraphers from a popular anthology of "Inscriptions for all occasions." These calligraphers knew the history of the Twelve Tengris, among which is the White Tiger. But the wolf is unexplained.

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gate (throne of the White Tiger god) and a black bowl 782
is put on the roof of the gate. 796

The parade starts on the left side of the village (shamans start on the left side and lamas on the right side), with banners at the head, and the horn (ox horn) is blown. On every mound the same rites are performed: a dance, a throne (stake) thrust into the mound, two black bowls buried near the throne, some paper banners planted, one hammer and one raven fixed on a stick, and the manikin, with bow and arrow pointing to the northwest. Some earth is added to the mound, which is put in good shape. The parade turns three times around the mound; on the third turn the whole group faces the northwest and howls three times, and then they start toward the next one.

When they return to the temple the shaman starts his dance, while the audience kneels and makes prostrations. Then the offered sheep is divided into as many parts as there are families in the village, and each receives a part. The tail and a hind leg are given to the shaman. On the most important mound, a plank is erected (it has to be stolen to be effective), on which a sealed statement is pasted, forbidding the pasturing of animals in the crops during three months and fixing fines for a horse, cow, or sheep caught straying in the crops. Pasturing of animals and chopping of fuel on the sacred mountain of the village are forbidden as is the felling of trees for three months and the singing of obscene songs in the village. The spirits must not be disturbed or offended, and liberty is not allowed to be taken with the conventional morals. The fines consist of a fixed amount of oil, incense sticks, paper, or cash, to be devoted to the upkeep of the temple.

MORE PRECAUTIONS AGAINST HAIL

LAMAS INVITED TO RECITE TEXTS

782
789

Despite the promises of the shamans on the feast of spring, the performance of shamanistic rites on a new hill, and the strengthening of the old hills by means of adding magical power to them, in the fourth month the chiefs of the villages invite two or more lamas to recite texts for a couple of days, on top of the highest mountain situated inside the village land. Maybe Buddha might lend a helping hand also, and in order to assume his protection they organize a procession with the 108 sacred books of the *Kanjur*.

PROCESSION WITH THE SACRED BOOKS

A chief is appointed for the performance of the rite. He goes, with 108 men of the village, to the lamasery to borrow the books. The village defrays the expenses of a collation of butter tea with *tsamba* for the lamas, and a fixed amount of butter to be burned in the lamps before the Buddha statues in the temple. The next morning the procession starts from the village temple with at least one member from each family [illegible] ritual

cypress offering, Wei-sang, is first performed in the 782
temple. A shaman, or lama of the Red Sect, summons 789
into his staff the spirits who predict the success and the opportuneness of the rite. He steps to the head of the procession with the spirit-laden staff, followed by a group of horn blowers and banner and drum bearers. Then come the statue of the temple, enthroned in the sedan chair, the table and stake gods, and the 108 bearers of the heavy books, one after another, while the music plays, and Om Mani prayers are devoutly recited the whole way. The procession tours around the limits of the extensive village lands, making stops on the highest mountains or most elevated spots, where the ritual cypress burning is done and where the whole group walks three times around the spot. When they return to the temple the ritual cypress offering closes the ceremony. The procession usually lasts for a whole day. The next day the books are returned to the monastery.

The procession involves the whole male population of the village. The bearing of Buddhist books is said to be very effective, as are the praying of Om Mani, the offering of tea to the lamas and of butter for the lamps, and the shamanist spirit-laden staff, the table and stake gods, and all the other Taoist statues of the temple which tour the village at the same time. All available heterogenous forces contribute to the success of this specifically Buddhist rite. Usually this procession with the books is performed every other year; in the intervening year it is performed without the books.[4]

THE GOAT SKIN RITE

After such displays of all kinds of religious rites, however, the Monguors, still unassured, perform the celebrated goat skin rite enacted by a shaman or a lama of the Red Sect, who is proficient in subduing the hail spirits in a direct way by magical power. The rite is enacted on the highest mountain of the village—not on the sacred mountain. A bonfire of cypress branches is kindled, which lasts during the entire time of the performance of the rite. The lama makes a big *torma*[5] and four smaller ones; then with *tsamba* and butter he kneads various crude figures of animals living in the water, birds of the air and of animals living on the earth.[6] Small pieces of meat are also prepared. The lama or shaman recites his awful incantations and ritual

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[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, Der Flur Umzug, *Anthropos* 47: 835, 1952. More details are available in this valuable study.

[5] *Torma:* a small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made [104]
with *tsamba* and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed. (See more in Filchner, *Kumbum Dschambaling*, *op. cit.*, chap. XIV.)

[6] According to Hoffman, *op. cit.* 138, the dough figures represent the spirits of the upper, middle, and underworld honored in the old Bon religion. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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curses upon the *tormas*, which will be thrown to the evil 782
spirits—the big *torma* in the direction of the northwest, 789
and the small ones in the direction of the four points of the compass. In the meantime the goat is killed and skinned, the head and hoofs being left attached to the skin which is then stretched and fixed on a post. Magical daggers are attached to the feet and head. The goat in threatening attitude faces the northwest, where the hail spirits are supposed to dwell, and challenges them. Then horns are blown and *tormas* thrown and the goat will protect the crops against hail during the whole summer.[7] The Monguors assert that in former times they did not use the goat for this purpose, but the horse, and that a horse skin was fixed on the post.[8]

RITE ON THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN OF THE VILLAGE

Since the village is still uncertain and disturbed after all these resources have been exhausted, it is customary that on an auspicious day, without the attendance of representatives of any religion, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family of the village, go to the top of the highest mountain of the village. They go with banners, drums, cymbals, horn, in front, and carrying the god or goddess of the temple in the sedan chair, in order to implore, under the vast dome of the blue sky, the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits." In a primitive oven, built with superimposed stones, a bushel of cypress leaves, pounded and passed through a sieve, are burned with some butter and roasted spelt, colza, linseed, and wheat (the kinds of grain planted by the Monguors), and some water is sprinkled over it; 108 butter lamps made with dough are lit and prostrations are made nine times. The customary cry is howled to all the spirits, notifying them of the act of adoration for them all, and the god or goddess sitting in the sedan chair seems to implore "Heaven and all the spirits" with the villagers together. Finally, prostrations are given to the god or goddess in the chair, and

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[7] According to Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 215, among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia on the grave, "a reindeer is killed, its skin is left together with the antlers and hoofs, fastened upon a bar horizontally fixed to two trees and left hanging there. This is the reindeer which will be used by the spirit (soul) of the deceased for going to the lower world. If there is no reindeer they use a horse and its skin in the same function and manner."

Owen Lattimore, The Gold tribe "Fishkin Tatars," *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* **40**: 57 and 379, 1933, notes that the Gold tribe, "Fishkin Tatars," use "two slender stakes or wands, on the top of which are impaled two wooden beast figures, with four legs and tail. The legs are made by sticks thrust through the body and protruding at both sides. They looked to be otters, perhaps weasels, or sables . . . There are two wands, one much more short and slender than the other, each impaling a Keku (cuckoo or wood-pigeon) . . . these divinities keep guard over the whole house and courtyard."

[8] See Schroder, *op. cit.*, *Die Pfahlziege*, 825, where a philosophical explanation of the rite is provided. For the horse sacrifice among the Buryat Mongols, see Jeremiah Curtin, *A journey in southern Siberia*, 44 *sqq.*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1909.

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782
the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven 789
and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, [791] the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages 175 situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess 177 in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death without wearing the Monguor skirt!"[9]

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty [792] strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan 796 ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of 782 their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires [784] that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain [171] during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a

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The groups join each other on the way. Friendly 796
and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with 782
banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed [672]
for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god [776]
of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

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celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of [171]
the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884-1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya,* 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

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small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region 796
of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to 782
dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers[11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one 821
days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in 782
wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, 789
when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it 756
was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

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[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262–263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1:* 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit.*, *Lokalkulturen*, *Fuchs* 1: 40.

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no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of 789
the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters 782
is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather 789
sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain 796
top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12]

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief [622] of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against

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[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542.

[p. 103(B)]

hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in
the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

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be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a 778
sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three 532
years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating 756
items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the as- 821
sumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the 829
Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the 771
means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

munity, obeying day and night the orders of the chief 821
of the village, pooling all its efforts and putting them 829
at his disposition, reveals the old clan spirit of nomads 771
united in the struggle against forces from abroad; it reveals that the entire community resorts unanimously to religious practices in order to preserve its means of subsistence and that religion in time of fear and distress is a means of securing the cohesion of the group. The civil and religious authority vested in the same chief make religion a constituent of the social organization. This note will be brought out several times further on, in the study of the religious life of the Monguors.[13]

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES

PUBLIC RITES ON NEW YEAR'S

At midnight on New Year's the bell of the temple of 796 the village rings. A group of villagers, comprised of a member of each family, led by the chief of the village, the military commanders and the elders, arrive to honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard of the temple by lighting a big cypress fire, offering steamed bread, raisins, and butter, pouring a libation of wine, and prostrating themselves holding incense sticks in their hands. The chief of the village says: "Heaven and all the spirits, we thank you for all the blessings of the past year, bless us during this New Year, give us good crops, and guard us from hail." Then they return home in order to perform the traditional family rites of New Year's.

On the third, as already noted, the chief of the village, the elders, and a member of each family go to the temple of the village in order to learn the prophecy of the sedan chair or table god, about the events of the New Year. In villages where there is a Kurtain possessed by the spirit of the temple, he is invited for an exhibition, which is attended by the whole community. This New Year's exhibition is the only public office discharged by the Kurtain in the community. After the exhibition there follows the Rite of the Sacred Animal.

During the first month of the New Year, in the villages where there is a temple dedicated to a Lamaist deity, some lamas are usually invited by the community to say prayers for three to seven days, for the peace of the villagers.

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[13] Potanin, *op. cit.*, 397–399 *sqq.*, describes accurately the interesting elaborate rite performed by shamans, enthroning a new image of a Taoist deity (the dragon king), as the new family protector in a Monguor family (probably at the moment of the division of the family inheritance). The performance is a blend of shamanist and Taoist rites. The opening of the eyes of the image and its animation, etc., are performed in the genuine Taoist fashion. The shamanism of this group of Monguors seems to be more adulterated than that of the Monguors living on the northern side of the Hsining River; the deities they honor are all Taoist deities.

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RITE OF THE SACRED ANIMAL OF THE COMMUNITY

Almost every village has its own sacred animal, which 778 is always a male animal. The Monguors say that in the old days they used to consecrate a stallion, but at present they use mostly the bull or the he-goat, and very rarely the ram, stallion, or mule. The villages have only one sacred animal.

The preference of the Monguors for the bull is easy to understand, for their economy is actually agricultural. Their preference for the he-goat is explained by the fact that the animal is a noted symbol of reproduction and fecundity.[1]

Therefore the preference of the Monguors for the he-goat is not a mystery, for the aim of the rite consecrating an animal to the deity protector of the village and giving thanks for blessings received is to secure for the herds the blessings of fecundity.

The sacred animal of the community likes to come back to the temple of the village where a stable is built for it and where it is fed with peas, at the expense of the villagers. All day long it is free to mix with the herds of the village which it likes to follow.

The bull used is the Tibetan yak, for it produces a kind of hybrid cow, stronger than that bred in the country, and peculiarly fitted for farming. So it is easy to understand that the change in economy has been the reason why the bull has been preferred to the stallion, for farming depends on cows and oxen.

The bull is a troublesome animal, often roaming far away into the country. In summer, when the crops are growing in the fields, it does a lot of harm, but nobody dares to beat or to drive it away, for it is the sacred animal. After two or three years its savage instincts reappear and it may even pursue men. The hair of the he-goats and bulls is never clipped, so they are wild in appearance and everybody is afraid of them.

In 1914 the bull of the Naring Valley ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Long ta. The village of Naring Valley presented apologies, indemnifying the [262] family, killing the bull, and offering the meat to them, for villagers are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. The next New Year's another bull was consecrated.

Bulls and he-goats are always consecrated by the 796 chiefs of the communities in the temple yard of the 778 village, on the third day of the New Year, to the guardian deity of the village, never to "Heaven," for no temples are dedicated to heaven. The ceremony is attended by a member from each family. The animal is cleansed, smoked, washed and combed in the courtyard, then led before the open door of the temple in front of

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[1] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 1925: 135. He writes: "The known fact that of old, the Mongols attributed a special significance to the he-goat is also related by Plano-Carpini, who notes that the Mongol chiefs always fed he-goats at home: that many people taught that the he-goat was related to fecundity, is a well-known fact."

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the statue or picture of the guardian deity of the village. 796
The chief of the village pours milk mixed with water, 778
while all the participants kneel, holding incense sticks in their hands. The animal shakes its head, and ribbons are attached and red paper is pasted on the horns.

Every year the animal must be presented to the deity in the temple on the third of the New Year. It is a quite dangerous and difficult job, assigned to the youngsters of the village, who wash and comb the savage bull.

The Tibetans in the country perform the Rite of the Sacred Animal in the same way.

The monasteries also feed a sacred animal. They never use a bull or he-goat, but the stallion and sometimes the mule. They never use their sacred animal for riding; it freely roams the country. The ceremonies of consecration are the same: washing, smoking, pouring of milk, prostrations, attachment of ribbons, but in the temple a special prayer is said by the lama community for the reproduction of the animals. Every year, on the third day of the New Year, their animal must be presented to the deity in the courtyard of the temple. The stallion must be saddled, for the deity is supposed to take a ride on the animal on that very day. The lamas say that it is difficult to saddle a savage stallion. I could never get any information about the deity to which their animal is consecrated.

SHAMANIST RITES OF SPRING

PREPARATIONS

The reaping of a rich harvest is the dream of the 796
Monguors. After sowing is done, a religious rite is 241
performed by the shamans, not by lamas, in order to gather fine crops in autumn. The rite is performed in every Monguor village, and many Chinese villages follow the same practice. From the second until the fourth month the shamans are very busy going from village to village. In autumn, when there is plenty of grain, preparations for the feast are started. In every family, according to its wealth, spelt is gathered for the distillation of wine; wheat collected for the making of noodles, rolls, and vegetable oil for the baking of bread. It is all put in the temple for safekeeping.

A few days before the feast, the chief of the village 796
with the elders impose corvées on the villagers ordering them to prepare all the required items. Reliable men and women are chosen, because it is important that nobody should eat a roll or drink a cup of wine before all items have been offered to the gods. Consequently, faithful adherents to the traditions are carefully chosen and they take an oath accordingly. Three big loaves, each three feet in diameter, are prepared; thirteen smaller ones, called cartwheels; a large number of steamed rolls, and baskets of smaller ones steamed or boiled in oil; one or two pigs are killed, poor villages kill a sheep; chore-men are sent to the city to buy paper, incense sticks, colors, firecrackers. All the items are locked up in the temple.

The day before the feast, a couple of shamans arrive 786 with their apprentices, to paint and paste paper flags and streamers, print flower designs and inscriptions, and prepare the "thrones" of the spirits expected to attend the meeting. A "throne" is a sheet of red paper on which are printed the words, "throne of god so-and so." It is pasted on the wall of the courtyard of the temple. A large sheet, that is a big throne, is prepared for the souls of the last three generations of deceased villagers. In the middle of the courtyard the shamans erect a pole thirty feet high,[2] to the top of which is pasted a triangular banner made of red paper, trimmed with yellow paper strips. Under the banner is fixed a circle covered with yellow paper; a bit lower is hooked horizontally a two-pronged fork with two rolls impaled on the prongs, and nine streamers with flower designs and inscriptions pasted on its handle. Supplementary streamers, always attached to the pole, are offered in thanksgiving for a happy delivery or recovery from illness. In front of the pole a long table is prepared for the offerings. The statues of the gods honored in the temple and the god sitting in the sedan chair are set out in front of the table. Before the "throne of the souls of the deceased villagers" are placed the offerings of the community: tea, wine, rolls, raisins, noodles, meat. A long rope is fixed on the roof of the entrance gate, and is pulled to the top of the pole, from which it falls down on the long offering table. Halfway down the rope from the top of the pole, a long bag of cloth is attached containing nuts, peas, and jujubes, all made of dough. The rope is called the "highway rope" (*ma-lu-sheng*), the rope along which the spirits will come down and depart. It is made with hemp shackles and is supposed to be endowed with celebrated magical power, since the spirits walked on it. The shackles are very effective talismans for the protection of the sick and small children.

At midnight the two shamans and their apprentices [756] honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard. They offer on a plate small rolls in which are fixed candles made of paper imbued with oil. They also light some butter lamps, set off fire crackers, prostrate themselves and beat drums and cymbals. They take a meal and then go to rest.

The feast, organized in order to reap a good harvest, starts by honoring "Heaven and all the spirits" at night, under the twinkling stars, in the courtyard of the temple. Shamans devoted to the cult of evil spirits 796 would not perform that rite, say the Mônguors. Neither the chiefs of the village, the elders, nor the people attend this midnight rite. Around eight or nine o'clock the following morning, six or eight more shamans arrive. Drums are beaten, and the chief of the village and the elders arrive to greet them. All the villagers go to the temple. Most of them bring their private offerings of rolls, wine, incense sticks, paper, while some among them paste on the wall of the temple the throne of their own ancestors and place some offerings before it. The temple is crowded to capacity with people dressed in their festival best. The shamans finish their meal, drink wine, and start the rites with the invocation of the spirits.

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[2] The pole and the rope play an important role in the ceremonies performed by the shamans in the village temple, and in those performed in private families in honor of their guardian deities. Pole and rope assured communication between the gods and man. Pole and rope must be planted and attached by the shamans in order to be efficacious. The manikan pole (see above, p. 95, n. 1), planted in the courtyard is said by many people to have the same meaning. Because the pole and rope rites are so unusually suggestive, they are enjoyed by the people, and their use is widely spread all over Asia by shamans. Shirokogoroff notes the rites among the Tungus (*Psychomental complex*, 336), etc. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 120, 368, 381.

FIRST DAY

INVOCATION OF THE SPIRITS

The shamans, wearing the black gown, flower-deco- 796 rated silk coat, and the crown of the god of the Five 756 Roads, stand erect before the pole and start beating the drums. The villagers prostrate themselves nine times toward the pole, in time with the command of the chief of the village, holding incense sticks in joined hands, and sit on their heels waiting. The elders sit in the first rows. The shamans start dancing before the pole, keeping time with the beating of the drums and cymbals; they become more and more excited, when all of a sudden their chief points at the rope fixed on top of the roof of the entrance gate and cries: "Here they are, the Twelve Tengris!" and continuing to point at the rope, he follows them with his finger and eyes, just as if he were seeing the spirits climbing along the rope that reaches to the top of the pole. He grasps the end of the rope lying on the table, and runs with it, straight to the throne (sheet of red paper on the wall) prepared for the Twelve Tengris and their leader. He holds reverently the end of the rope against the throne, so that the spirits may step unhurt onto the throne. The other shamans and the apprentices run to the throne and prostrate themselves; the whole audience prostrates itself with incense sticks in the hands and the chief shaman starts greeting the spirits: "We are so glad to honor you"—and the audience repeats each time the words of the shamans and prostrates itself—"You must be tired from the long journey. . . . It is kind of you to have come so far. . . . We are very happy to honor you. . . . Please sit down among us, the throne is a poor one, but be so kind as to excuse us. . . ." Then the shamans ask them about the coming of the other spirits, whether they have already started their journey. Suddenly he points again at the roof of the gate, and sees the God of the Five Roads with his four associates. Then one after another come the god of the highest Obo of the region, the dragon god, the dragons of the five lakes, of the four seas, of the nine rivers, of the eight streams, of the new rain; the goddesses of the nine heavens, the three girl goddesses, the heavenly generals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the 796 gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits 756 honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[8] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climb[illegible] high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

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[8] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones. [779 776]

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings. [775 765]

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

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. . . These people are very happy and thankful for your kindness. . . they are happy to be so close to you, and they all hope you will be so kind as to preserve the peace of the village, protect the mountains and pastures, the crops and the herds against hail, and protect the children and the elders."

During the talk of the shaman, the people repeat his words while prostrating themselves. Some among the shamans really have the knack of saying things that go to the marrow of the bones. Such shamans are always invited, and are beloved by the people. Their talk is long or short according to the inspiration of the moment and the circumstances, and at that moment the audience is in a really prayerful mood.

After the speech, all the shamans start their most gracious dance, honoring the kind spirits. Then for a long, long while the shamans sit down. They beat the drums softly, and the chief shaman, the whole time listening to his drum, makes the statement in stereotyped terms that "The gods just finished their council and have decided that during the three summer months, the crops will be protected against hail and the village will enjoy peace. The gods have decided that during the three winter months the people and the herds will enjoy peace and be preserved from illnesses. It has been decided by the gods and the decision is irreversible." The people prostrate themselves thankfully, repeating: "Irreversible." Then the gods decide that for the faithful, who are not remiss in the duty of burning incense every day during the four seasons, thieves will not find a way to come into their houses; that wolves, prowling to harm the herds, will no longer be able to open their mouths; that the swords of brigands, if they come, will bend and be useless; that childless women will enjoy this year the hope of giving birth to a boy.

After the promises of the gods, the souls of three generations of deceased villagers are honored. The shamans, standing erect before their throne, beat drums and prostrate several times, pouring wine before their throne, making the libation. Then the chief shaman gives them an account of all the offerings deposited before them by their descendants. He invites them to taste the offerings and to enjoy them, repeating several times that the descendants are happy to be in their presence and the attendants repeat his words. Finally a last dance is performed before the pole, prostrations are made, and the attendants leave the temple. By then the sun is setting, the gathering having lasted a whole day.

The shamans are very proficient in the art of predicting and promising the blessings really desired by the villagers. Although all the promises will not be implemented, the people leave the temple in a happy mood, hopeful and satisfied, for everybody likes the predictions concerning the fulfillment of his hopes and wishes. The children in the schools and the women remember very well the details of these talks, which have gone straight to their hearts. In order not to get a warped view of the talks of the shamans at these religious feasts, it must be said that the talks were not always sugary and sweet, adorned with delightful promises fitting the moods and feelings of the audience. Two unusual events happened, one in Too long in 1909, and the other in Hsin yüan-p'u in 1914 at the feast of spring. These were described to me several times by different Monguors and Chinese, because they were so well known for their unusualness and because they were fraught with terrible forebodings.

During the rites, at the moment when the people, kneeling in deep religious silence, were waiting for happy promises of the spirits, the shaman, listening to the spirits speaking in his drum, threw the attendance into confusion and terror, declaring the inauspicious disposition of the spirits, and foretelling threatening calamities in store for the villagers, such as hail, epizootics, diseases. The shaman saw in his drum the aversion in the hearts of the spirits and heard the bitter words on their tongues, because of the lack of fervor in the cult of the guardian spirit of the village; the disregard of the youth for them; the lasting feuds and discords among the families of the village, unwilling to overlook their petty differences.

The distressed audience was suddenly thrown into the throes of despair. All hope for blessings was dashed to the ground and crumbled in a heap. Everybody shuddered at the thought of hail and diseases. The audience, caught in a web of indecision, did not dare to laugh the threats to scorn. Predictions of impending calamities are never viewed in a light vein. The congregation was like a ship without a rudder, lashed by big waves of fear and apprehensions. Then the chief of the village said, "Let us prostrate ourselves and ask for forgiveness for our shortcomings and deficiencies," and he asked the shaman for a solution of the problem. In Hsin-yüan p'u the shamans agreed to attempt to propitiate the spirits, although, according to them, only a small hope remained. In desperation, trying to propitiate the angry spirits about to loose their avenging bolts, they danced their gentlest dances, listening to the drum, talking with the spirits, leaning towards the drums, flattering, cajoling, wheedling, apologizing, promising for the future, while the audience prostrated itself incessantly. Finally the chief of the shamans, with a glint of victory in his eyes, declared that the scales of mercy had been successfully weighted, but that an additional pig had to be offered. Breathing vows of deathless devotion, the audience was happy; solace had been brought to their sadness. Such scenes are recorded by the people to their dying day, with all the details.

In Too long, however, the angry spirits stuck by their decision. The shamans recommenced their dances, the people prostrated themselves, and the shamans, unsuccessful in pulling the heartstrings of the gods, de-

clared that their power was too weak and unavailing, 796
that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a 756
big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully [171]
with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.[4]

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, 792
which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the 796
people feel happy to approach, face to face, the spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my [781]
Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

RITES OF THE SECOND DAY

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are 796
performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, 756
(2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits, and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

POSSESSION BY THE WHITE TIGER

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking 796 with them and asking for their protection upon the 756 village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour.

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[4] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188–1190; 1201–1208, 1247.

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they [535] start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to [578] get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit.

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm [785] with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[5]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, [776] the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman:

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

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[5] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212. [p. 109 (B)]

time with the beating of drums and cymbals perform 796
their wildest dances for a long time. Usually three or 756
four among them seem to be possessed. All of a sudden the chief of the shamans becomes excited to fever pitch, and howls "go to the goddess." Then, followed by the other shamans, he grasps a chicken and, dancing with fury, bites its neck and jerks off its head in a wild movement. Grimacing with distorted face, and glittering eyes, he throws the bleeding chicken head in the supposed direction of the goddess, uttering dreary cries and indistinct sounds. After the rite is accomplished, the people go home for dinner. It is indeed a savage means of greeting "a goddess of joy," with a bleeding head and with such wild appearance.

The split-personality of the "good" shaman who the first day was so gentle, so kind, so considerate for the spirits, shows up more and more; he has to see blood and to offer bloody sacrifices.

LEAVE-TAKING OF THE SPIRITS

After sunset all the villagers come to the temple. In some villages the women are not allowed to attend the [562] evening rites, but elders asserted that in former times the women were admitted everywhere.

A hundred small lamps are prepared, the cup made with dough and the wick with twisted cotton wool. [354] Into the cup is poured vegetable oil. The lamps are displayed in rows on the offering table in front of the pole and the statues. The shamans first perform the usual dance, keeping time to the beating of the drums. The leave taking of the guest spirits is called the "opening of the highway" (*k'ai ma-lu*). A bridge[8] is to be built over which the guests are supposed to pass. A big roll is put on each of the four corners of the table, and a larger one in the middle; a paper banner is placed on each of the five rolls. A lamp is lit near the banners and a plate put near each of them; on the middle plate is placed the head of a chicken.

The chief of the shamans asks the shamans and the apprentices for the meaning of the five rolls. The five rolls mean the five mountains; the five lamps, the five lakes; the five wicks, the five dragons; the banners, the incense which billows up into the sky. Why is the head of a chicken put on the middle plate? In order to steady the *Yin-Yang* (male and female principle of the Taoists). The chief shaman writes, around the roll in the center, the eight Chinese cyclical characters and asks for the explanation of each of them. If one of the shamans or apprentices is unable to answer he is scolded and upbraided in front of the whole gathering.

A bridge is constructed for the spirits from one end of the table to the other by disposing two rows of rolls in which are planted brand new chopsticks; on both sides [442] of the bridge are planted incense sticks in smaller rolls. The shaman asks again for explanations: Is there still another way existing above that bridge or not? An-

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[8] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 419.

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu 796
Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White 756
Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge
or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over [775]
which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the con- 796
fused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, 756
shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, 772
the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: 779
the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the ap- 776
pointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya 538
as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never 554
fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into 796
the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a sha- 756
man is asked at what time and why men started seducing 831
women, and women started eloping? An interesting 773
sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

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[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of 796
seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the 756
sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, 831
chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, 773
made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the 756
shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the 796
spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most im- [776]
portant. The shamans explain that the spirits in the 796
temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that 756
they may be able to protect the village against hail. 782
Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.[*] The present rite takes the place of the

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[*] This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

former human sacrifices; consequently blood and the 776
soul of a deceased person is needed for the nurturing 786
of the spirits. 782

The rite is performed at night. The shamans and the young folk leave the temple in order to capture the soul of a deceased human being. Sometimes they go far away, according to the indication of their spirits. Five fortresses are built by means of incense sticks planted in the ground in the form of a square, one at each corner according to the points of the compass, and one in the center. Circles are drawn around each of them. Then follows the beating of the drums and cymbals, dances, and cracking of the whips on the ground. The chief of the shamans howls at the top of his voice, "Is the northern fortress already built?" All the shamans answer by howling in the same way; this is repeated for each of the fortresses. Nuts and dates are thrown by the chief of the shamans on the four corners, and on the center; he throws some of them into the air, to attract the roaming souls of deceased people. A bottle is planted in an inclined position in a bushel containing wheat, and is supported by burning incense sticks. The shamans start their wildest dance, drearily howling at the tops of their voices, and cracking whips, in the middle of the pitch-dark night. The burning incense sticks no longer support the bottle, and it falls flat; the chief of the shamans rushes to the bottle, grasps it, and runs as fast as possible to the temple, followed by the other shamans and the young folk.

The temple gate is shut tightly. A new wild dance follows, until all of a sudden the chief of the shamans grasps a chicken, jerks off its head, and gathers its blood in a pot. He cries again, asking the gathering three times, "Are the souls here?" and runs inside the temple rooms and presents the bottle containing the gathered souls at the mouth of each of the statues and the painted gods on the walls, cajoling, wheedling and caressing them saying, "Eat, eat please! Do you like it? It is a wonderful meal, eat some more, there is plenty." Then taking the pot with blood he performs the same ceremony, "Drink, drink!" The spirits are nurtured.

He takes the pot containing the horoscope sticks placed in the temple, throws them on the ground and

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times the White Tiger devoured a person every year, as mentioned above. There is a widespread belief in human sacrifices demanded by spirits in India and Tibet (A. David Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 207, Paris, Plon, 1929. L. A. Waddell, *op. cit.*, 516). It is noted by Helmut Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 175), as practiced by the Hsienpi in Manchuria and Mongolia at the beginning of the year; it was well known in China in former times (De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 79. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, Index, Sacrifices Humains, 2164). Helmut Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 161-162, also notes spirits called *Sri* eagerly attacking small children, sucking their blood, and devouring them. Garma Sanschejew (*op. cit.*, 592), notes among the shamans belief in a kind of spirit eager to attack and devour the children; parents know that when children start crying suddenly such spirits are around. No wonder that this belief, spread all over Asia, is still very strong at present among the Monguors.

examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all 796
events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy 756
peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from 782
hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time 782
during which these rites are performed in one village 784
after another, everywhere children are encountered 789
wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking 751
cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human 782
sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the
minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so [115]
arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence
of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed [682]
upon them by a more civilized environment than that

[p. 112 (A)]

of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their 782 powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their in- [B82] stitution constrain them to act cautiously and to restrain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems 795 not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the 175 Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, 795 made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of 795 the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the coun- 776 try between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the 795 territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of 778 the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in the same way the territory of the village is supposed to 795 have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not 778 on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

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[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, *op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan*, *op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

[p. 112(B)]

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of 795 a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and wide- [170] spread all over China also.[12] From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in rudimentary shrines built in the fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the moun- [776] tains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning these gods is encountered all over Asia[13] Buddha once [171] enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.[14]

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot occupied by the monastery. In big lamaseries the cult of this god resorts to the attributions of members of the college of rites.[15] 795

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[12] Maspero, *La Chine antique, op. cit.*, 204.

[13] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 598.

[14] de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances;* Paris, Beauchesne, 1909.

Every Monguor, together with his entire family in their best clothes, who attends the ceremony of the starting of the plowing of the fields, will honor in the fields the god of his fields, by burying an urn (called the precious bottle), making libations, burning incense, and offering bread. No Monguor will build a court yard, sheep or cow pen without burying an urn in the ground, thereby recognizing the lordship and dominion of the spirit of the spot, and obtaining his permission to occupy it. In the center of the courtyard, under the manikan and the manger, the Monguors used to bury five urns and invite a lama to recite texts for one, two or five days, sprinkling holy water and throwing spelt on them. This old rite has become a thoroughly Lamaist rite, to which each lama attaches his own mystical explanations. 795 782 [241]

However, frequently the Monguor invites a Chinese geomancer; he plants the manikan himself, buries the urn, and offers a sheep or a chicken. This principle is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the Monguors that they will never proceed with the rite of the cremation of a corpse without having previously recognized the ownership of the god of the spot, and obtaining its permission by buying from it the spot required. Thus, the mountain and village gods seem to belong to the category of the earth gods for whom, in old China, victims and offerings were buried in the ground.[16] For that reason urns are buried for mountain and village gods as well as for earth gods.

The precious bottle (urn), the most important offering in the cult of the gods of the mountains, the village, and the earth, is usually prepared by a lama of the Yellow or the Red Sect, performing more or less elaborate rites, sometimes for days. He uses some powder of gold, some silver, coral, turquoise, and copper coins of the K'ai-yüan (713–741) and T'ai-p'ing (1850) periods, things which are said to comprise the five precious materials. He gathers some grains of five kinds of cereals, threads of five colors, different kinds of medicines, incense sticks, and some tea leaves. All these substances are pounded for a long time with a pestle in a mortar and poured into a small urn, while the lama blows on them and recites texts. Finally molten butter is poured into the urn, level with the opening. Two pictures are pasted on the urn, one of a Lamaist deity and one of the dragon spirit. The urn is covered with a piece of red cloth. The use of the urn is known all over China; such urns can be bought in all pharmacies, in lamaseries, from Taoist priests, and from shamans. The contents of the urn are not always the same, for several kinds are said to be used. Lamas make a business out of the urns, for usually the slightest unhappinesses, illnesses, and calamities, are [823] said to be caused by the offended god of the spot who must be propitiated by the offering of an urn. 795 782

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[15] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 100.
[16] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 205.

Consequently, these proprietors and lords of the country and the villages are supposed to extend their protection to their worshippers, blessing their herds and crops and preserving the country against hail, epidemics, and epizootics and providing propitious rain. No wonder that the temples in many villages are dedicated to the god of the mountain, and that one can read on village temples the inscription, "[may] the God of the Five Roads, the gods of the mountain and the village, protect the village."

The cult of the five important mountain gods will be dealt with first, followed by that of the sacred hill of the village.

CULT OF THE OBO

A mountain god is honored by means of an Obo.[17] On the top of the sacred mountain is planted a big pole which secures communication between spirits and man, even as at the time of the shamanist feast of spring, and the planting of the manikan in the courtyards. Stones, mostly white ones, are piled in a big heap around the pole, enclosed with a wooden fence, painted white. Sticks, very often shaped as spears and long arrows, often painted red at the top and black at the bottom, with a tassel of red wool attached to them, are planted in the stone heap, as well as some twigs of cypress. On the top of the pole, and on most of the sticks, are fixed prayer flags, pieces of white cloth on which prayers are written with Tibetan characters, and with the "Wind Horse" printed on them. To white and black ropes (of which one end is bound to the pole and the other to small poles or sticks fixed in the ground), are attached some shoulder bones and various small bones of sheep, small prayer flags, pieces of red dyed wool. Often some small stone heaps are built around the Obo; bigger flat stones form an offering table in front of the heap. No irreverent or immodest acts are permitted in front of the pole. No information was available concerning either the way of building Obos, or the items buried inside under the pole, because I knew nobody who had met the builders of Obos.[18] 795 778

THE FIVE GREAT OBOS IN THE COUNTRY

These five chief spirits, owners of the country, are not only honored on the tops of their respective mountains. Because it is impossible to climb the mountain every day, there is built for each of them, inside the monasteries of the Yellow Sect nearest the mountain, a small temple, in which lamas daily honor them. So, the temple of the spirit Amni Chokker of the Obo near the lamasery of Ch'u erh is built in that monastery. There is one exception: the small temple of the spirit 778 782 795

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[17] Stress should be put on the correct meaning of the cult of the Obo so as not to identify it with the cult of Heaven, as so often happens in studies concerning the religion of the nomads.

[18] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 68-69.

[p. 114(A)]

Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the 778
courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by 782
him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. 795
Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, [362]
were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries.

When and how are the five owners of the country 795
honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, 796
usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn).

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets
off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap [311]
spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo.

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[10] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

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[10] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

[p. 114(B)]

people leave, and the spirit of the mountain enjoys in 795
undisturbed silence his ownership over the country. 796

Concerning the offering of sheep, Monguors assert that in former times their ancestors offered a horse on top of the mountains, but that at present, for lack of horses, a sheep is offered and not a pig, because the offer of a sheep is more convenient; a sheep can be driven to the top of the mountain, a pig has to be carried; the killing of a sheep takes less time and requires less utensils, which are not available on top of the mountain.

THE SICK OBO SPIRIT HEALED

The villages situated in the valley of Sha-t'ang, be- 782
longing to the circumscription of the big spirit of the 756
celebrated Obo Lung-wang, had poor crops, spoiled by very bad hailstorms, for three years in succession. The saying went that the vitality of the spirit was declining and that it could no longer prevent these terrific calamities. The shamans were invited to restore its debilitated strength. The chiefs and elders of all the villages together with the inhabitants went in a group to the Obo, with a group of shamans, headed by drums and flags. A big cypress fire was built; the people knelt around the Obo with incense sticks in their hands. The shamans, beating drums, danced in front of the Obo; the eldest among them, in pathetic terms, invited the sick spirit to sit down in the midst of its devoted worshippers. He spoke to the spirit in the sweetest way, just as if he was in its presence and was seeing it, caressing, consoling, and comforting the old spirit. He invited it to look at the kneeling worshippers, and protested that they really loved it, and the shamans would offer a dance in order to entertain the old spirit.

After the dance was performed, in the most gracious way, the sick spirit was supposed to be happy. The shaman, like a good mother, persuaded the spirit to take some medicines in the most affable way. He said that he had prepared for it the most efficient medicine, that it had never failed to restore the strength of Obo spirits. The shaman dug a deep hole near the Obo. The precious bottles of each village were put into it first, then a box containing seventy living snakes [20] of different kinds and colors. The shaman explained to the spirit the different kinds of ailments healed by the different kinds of snakes, and then the hole was filled up. Each village offered its sheep, firecrackers were set off, prostrations, libations and Wei-sang rites were conducted, and a last dance was performed by the shamans. Then the medical performance was closed. The spirit was supposed to be bursting with vitality again,

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[20] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 182. The Tungus use the snakes for making poisonous bullets. The big snake is styled by the shamans the most important spirit who gives advice to the shaman, p. 246. See also Waddell, *op. cit.*, 368, *Snakes and Nagas*; also Heissig, *op. cit.*, 48, Spirits who cause diseases flee from the snakes.

and the group then marched three times around the 782
Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from 756
Monguors who had attended the ceremony.

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is [562] for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast.

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed 795
like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on 782
top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22]

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, [753] which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village.

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

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[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann. Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

[p.115(B)]

devoted to the practice of throwing in the wind slips 795
of paper on which are printed the Buddhist "flying 782
wind horses" are accustomed to performing this rite on
the top of the sacred hill.

It is not permitted to cut wood, to graze animals, or to hunt on the sacred hill. In old China, the god of the earth was the tree itself, planted in a small forest.[23] The Monguors plant the Obo post in the hill, and do not allow the cutting of bushes growing on it, or the grazing of cattle. In every village the sacred hill is very conspicuous, because of the wealth of the bushes growing on it which seem to create the illusion of a small forest.

CONCLUSION

The worshipping of the mountain gods consists in the sacrifice of a sheep (or a horse), the burying of an urn, the planting of spears, the lighting of a cypress fire, prostrations, and marching three times around the Obo.

All these rites are performed by the villagers, led by the chiefs and elders. After these rites are performed, lamas start reciting texts, beating drums, and making *tormas*. This fact seems to reveal that the lama rites are additional rites of later times, that the cult of the mountain gods existed long before the lamas appeared in the country, and was performed by the communities without them. The cult preserves the old ritual used at the worshipping of the mountain gods.

The old philosophy concerning the nature of the [772] mountain gods, their dominion over the country and control over its people, is still fresh and living. It is clearly manifested by the burying of an urn, the specific, grateful offer to a god who is regarded as owner of the earth, which contains the specimens of all the kinds of blessings and treasures provided by the earth. This philosophy places the mountain gods in the category of the earth gods. It is typical also that in every urn they never fail to put an offering of medicines, which reveals the philosophy concerning the decay of the gods whose lives have to be nursed and reinvigorated.

However, the Monguors could not explain the meaning of the planting of the spears near the pole. The explanations encountered in books relating to this puzzle seem to be unsatisfactory and arbitrary.

Taking account of this philosophy and the religious environment in which the Monguors live, claiming to have gods and Tengris as proprietors and dominators of the country, it seems easy to understand that little room is left for thinking about a God, Creator of the Universe, and that this notion is completely absent in their philosophy. Only once is the "Spirit of Heaven" recalled during the performance of the whole rite on top of the mountain—at the time the broth of mutton is ladled and thrown to the four points of the compass, honoring all the gods and spirits. However, the "Spirit of Heaven" is called first and the offering is made first to it, in the way the Monguors are used to doing at the time of the offering to the guardian deity of the family.[24] 795 752

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[23] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 168.

[p. 116(A)]

RITES OF AUTUMN

THANKSGIVING RITE

The autumn feast, called by the Monguors "Thanksgiving meeting," is intended as an act of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped. 796

In the ninth or the tenth month, when the harvest is reaped and threshed, the chief of the village convenes with the elders to agree upon the choice of the shamans who should be invited, and upon the manager and the helpers who should be appointed in order to prepare the feast. Usually small villages invite one shaman, [756] bigger villages two or four; the number of the shamans invited depends also on the abundance or meagerness of the harvest. The shamans are usually chosen from among those who performed the rites in spring or the rites against hail.

The appointed manager of the ceremonies goes, taking with him a bottle of wine, the ceremonial scarf, and an invitation written on red paper "to the master of magic, so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads"; he fixes with him the date for the ceremony, suiting his convenience. At that time the shamans are very busy performing the same rites in a number of villages. Because the rites of spring had been performed by shamans, shamans should be invited for the present rite and not lamas or Taoist priests.

Each family of the village contributes its part of the required wheat flour for the steaming of rolls, the needed barley for the distillation of wine, and cash for buying the sacrificial hog or sheep. Big villages sacrifice a hog, small villages a sheep. The appointed preparers of rolls and wine take the oath not to eat the rolls or to drink the wine before they have been offered to the spirits.

The evening before the feast day, the shamans and their apprentices arrive in order to prepare the pole and flag, to paste paper banners and streamers, and to print some Chinese inscriptions on red paper. The items are fixed and pasted on the walls and doors of the temple yard, the display of red and green and yellow paper banners turning the usual feeling of monotony and loneliness of the temple yard into one of joy and happiness.

The ceremony starts in the early morning at sunrise, with the erection of the pole. On top of the pole a white cloth flag is attached on which are printed Tibetan prayers or cabalistic designs. To the middle of the pole paper streamers are attached. While the pole is being put down into the hole of the big stone, designated for that purpose, the shamans beat the drums, build a fire in the yard, throw some cypress leaves into it, and sprinkle water on it. On windy days stones are heaped around the base of the pole to steady it. The villagers 796 do not participate at the erection of the pole. After the shamans' breakfast, taken with some of the elders, the bell of the temple is rung and the drums are beaten to call the people for the ceremony.

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[24] See Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 96, for the more elaborate Obo cult in the Narobanchin territory; 178, among the Chahar Mongols; 256, Dagor Mongols.

[p.116(B)]

A group of young folk had already been sent early in the morning to all the hills, situated within the boundaries of the village, where rites had been performed against hail, to remove the stakes, the raven, the hammers, manikins, and goat skin, planted by the shamans in the spring. All these items are stored in the side rooms of the temple. Although the shamans did not accompany the group removing the items, it is said that their presence is required in order to store them.

The long offering table is removed from the temple and placed in front of the pole. A big fire is built in front of the pole and the table, in the center of the temple yard; cypress boughs are thrown into the flames and water sprinkled on the fire. Shamans and helpers purify their hands and utensils in the smoke of the cypress boughs. In the early morning the hog is killed by cutting its throat. The blood is collected, the skin shaved, bowels cleansed, and blood mixed with flour and spices is stuffed into them, and they are exposed on the offering table. The victim is washed and smoked above the fire only. If a sheep is offered, water is poured into the ears, or milk is poured on its back (never done for a pig); the throat is cut and the blood collected and filled into the bowels in the same way. The sheep is skinned and put on the table upon the skin in its entirety, without the head; thirteen big rolls are deposited next to the victim (thirteen rolls are offered to spirits and shamans, and only twelve to the dead), at the time of burial, with a vase containing vegetable oil, a jar containing wine and two bushels with wheat, some peas, spelt, and linseed, the kind of crops reaped by the Monguors. All these offerings are the gifts of the community.

In the meantime, the villagers arrive at the temple: men, women and children, with their own offerings of rolls, meat, raisins, cookies, which they deposit on the table.

The shamans, wearing the flowery coat and the crown 796
of the god of the Five Roads, start the rite by a beating 756
of the drums. The audience kneels in a half circle around the fire, in front of the pole and the table. The chief and the elders of the village, in the first row, hold incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the village pours first a libation of milk and wine on the ground before the fire and throws several handfuls of pounded cypress cones and leaves on the fire and sprinkles water. When the smoke billows in the air, he kneels, and prostrating himself says, "Old Father Heaven you know that we thank you for the harvest," and the whole audience prostrates itself three times in deep silence. Then the shamans beat drums in a slow tempo and the thanksgiving ceremony is finished.

[p.110(A)]

A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a 776
collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as 782
many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat.

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the 776
harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are 782
given in the temple yard of the god who is the pro- 776
tector of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors.

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the 776
ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance 782
of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacri- [622]
ficer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat.
The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, [756]
and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence.

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, 796
it seems, should be considered because of the fact that 782
so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a 795
family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or 231
non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, 825
in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very [p. 74]
fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

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[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* **37–40**: 867, 1952.

[p. 118(A)]

to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Every- 775
body endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons. 825

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will 231
be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, [778]
but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal.

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This [787]
is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed.

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals; but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

[p, 118(B)]

same way in the living room, never outside. They said 795 that the aim of the rite is to obtain blessings upon the 825 cattle and their reproduction, and that therefore gelded 231 or old animals are never used. The custom excludes the use of donkeys, hogs, hens, and dogs. Custom does not allow the family to sell or to eat its sacred animal. They all said that the rite was never performed because persons in the family were smitten with severe diseases, or calamities had overcome the family, since other specific rites exist to obviate these miseries. The rite is only intended for the reproduction of animals and to give thanks for blessings upon them. They also said that the staff spirit was never consulted when a new animal had to take the place of the former. The shaking of the head of the animal, when milk mixed with water was poured upon its head and in its ears, was sufficient evidence that the animal was accepted by the family protector. These notes do not agree completely with those of Dom. Schröder in his very interesting article "Die Tierweihe." (*op. cit.,* 839). I write them down according to my notes which I checked many times, because the rite interested me very much.

According to the explanation of the Monguors the rite does not intend to make of the animal an "animal spirit"; the animal is not possessed by the spirit. The aim is to offer to the family protector an animal for which, if the spirit does not agree, a more valuable offer is substituted. When it agrees, however, they all cry: "The offer is accepted!" Because the animal is accepted by the spirit, it partakes of the respect of the family and prostrations are made to the spirit and to its animal. If the rite were a shamanistic rite, the shaman, who is always at hand, would certainly have been invited to perform it.[1]

Poor families must have their sacred animal also, and for this purpose they exceptionally use a rooster, very seldom a he-goat; the ritual for the consecration is the same. Every year, on the third of the New Year, the sacred animal is presented to the deity in the living room, washed, combed, and lavishly adorned with ribbons, while the family prostrates itself. If the sacred animal is a mule, it must be fed on that day with bread. Milk is poured on the animal only once, on the day of the consecration.

The rite must be very old, and must have belonged to a nomadic economy in which horses were offered. At present the rite continues to persist, but it is performed with other animals.[2]

Among the Mongols of Ordos, the rite of the sacred animal is well known and widely practiced today. The animal is consecrated to all kinds of deities, Chingis-

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[1] Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Shamanismus der Alaren Burjaten. *Anthropos* **23**: 938, 1928.

[2] It is worth while to note that the rites of the sacred animals of the communities and of the private families are performed on the Chinese New Year (which usually occurs in February) at the time the lambs are born, the happy time of the harvest of the nomads.

[p. 119(A)]

Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored 795
deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is per- 825
formed in private families by lamas. Stallions are con- 231
secrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, [171] notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco- 372
Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was 776
butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

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[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel,* 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, **1**: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315–322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* **1**: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* **30**: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **10**: 70–76; **9**: 228–241, 534–535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, **3**: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* **3**: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] Dur- 372
ing the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new 776
emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14]

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard 585
where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner 372
is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16]

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, 372
which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in 789
honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family.

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over [764]
a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased.

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[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267-317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106, Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, *op. cit.*, 42-71.

A widow who is remarrying, when she arrives at the 372
door of her new husband's house, jumps over a fire 789
kindled at the entrance of his courtyard, in order that [587]
the soul of her deceased husband will no longer follow
and harm her.

Every time any utensil is supposed to have become
impure, it is passed over a fire. The shamans and [783]
lamas, before using their religious paraphernalia, smoke
them over a fire.

Usually the lamas, at the time of epidemics, try first to cajole and placate these evil doers, hoping that they will stay their calamities, making the magnificent fire offering called *tao Huo-t'an,* "the pouring of a plain of fire." It consists of burning, on a limited surface, a pile of logs of different kinds of wood, reputed to be odoriferous or expensive, with all available kinds of fragrant herbs and spices, dried aromatic flowers, all kinds of grains. The fire is lit by sparks struck from a flint, or by the rays of the sun passing through a magnifying glass, for the fire must be pure also. The fire is kept up by the intermittent pouring of molten butter on it [illegible] lamas, who recite texts during seven days in order to [illegible] the hearts of the evil doers. They make several *tormas* and design *mandalas*[17] for the arranagement of the logs. The whole is accompanied by an unusual display of the most detailed rites, for which each lama has his own explanation and his own way of acting, ringing bells, beating drums, blowing horns, while the family prostrates itself. This is the famous pouring of fire on a huge surface "in order to gain the good graces of the malignant spirits by a magnificent fire offering."[18]

Some lamas resort, for the same reason, to a "white Wei-sang." One hundred logs of odoriferous wood are white-washed with lime-wash and kindled as described above. The aim of the rite is again to pull the heartstrings of the evil spirits by means of a pure fire offering and to invite them to stop the calamities.

However, when the two rites have proved unsuccessful, the lamas try the "black Wei-sang," using the magical power of the fire for dispelling the evil spirits. In a forlorn and remote spot, a pile of the most inexpensive and dirty wood is prepared with all kinds of smelly herbs and spoiled grain. The fire is kindled with dung and on top of the blazing pile is poured the urine of a black donkey; *tormas* are made with black spoiled flour. Condemning the evil spirits with such an abject fire offering, they hope they will leave the family, or the village, in order to avoid scorn and disdain, and that the magical power of the fire for repelling them will be more effective.

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[17] *Mandalas* are so-called "magic circles" by which the divinities are coerced into assisting the votary to reach "the other shore." While they are being made, the makers recite charmed sentences (dharani) supposed to have been composed by several divinities, which are used as incantations for procuring their assistance in peril as well as in ordinary temporal affairs. L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism,* 144, second ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[18] Schröder, Der Feuerguss, *op. cit.,* 860.

[p.120(B)]

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the 372
Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the 789
items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang."

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE 775

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, 776
the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the depart- 372
ment of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen.

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be in- [842]
terested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual.

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the 585
bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her 354
parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight 776
to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the 372
hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her.

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another
room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the [428]
youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire.

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed 842
to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the 372
spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On 776
the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians

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[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives 842
and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the 372
fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would 776
miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to 852
the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On 372
the second of the second moon is performed the rite of 776
consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of 795
the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, 562
and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important 354
a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, 776
and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all 782
over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

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[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

[p. 121(B)]

the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the 795
twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, 562
all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have 354
to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the 776
women. This rule is kept most rigidly. 782

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates 795
it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come 562
back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In 354
the early morning the elders will honor it also. 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit 782
of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say."

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is 782
always offered devoutly to the hearth god.

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the 776
wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper 354
is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper rib- 372
bon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red- 562
fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit.

On both sides of the red skirt are pasted two small 776
yellow ribbons, said to represent the handkerchiefs of 354
the spirit. On the upper part of the sheet of paper is 372
pasted, horizontally, a large red, fringed strip of paper. 562

The skirt and the handkerchiefs are items belonging to women's dress, and consequently the spirit is supposed to be a female spirit. Some Monguors, when the whole primitive representation is finished, write on the yellow ribbon in the center: "Lord of the Hearth." Many Monguors no longer use this old representation of the spirit of the hearth, but instead, they buy a Chinese picture. After a few years it will be hard to find out to which sex their hearth god belonged.

According to the interesting study of Professor N. Poppe, based only on old fire prayers and hymns, the god of the fire among the Mongols is a female god, called "mother of the hearth," "mother of the fire," etc., but also "king of the fire," and even "mother king of the fire." The god of the fire possesses a big family consisting of seven girls and five boys and many servants. It is not clear why prayers and hymns are sung once for the king of the fire, and once for the lady.[23]

Among the Mongols, as among the Monguors, the most important act of honoring the god of the hearth takes place on the last days of the year. In the hymns, all kind of blessings are implored from the god of the hearth, who seems omnipotent.[24]

The Tibetans, from the oldest times on, also had their "god of the hearth" and their "queen hearth god." Both were very touchy concerning the smallest impurities thrown into the fire; a trifle could upset them.[25]

Among the Tungus, the spirit of the fire is an old woman, who stays in the fire of the family; fire is to be revered.[26]

It is interesting to record that, among the Chinese also, the sex of the god of the hearth is not definitely fixed. Father Doré, studying twenty-nine sources related to the subject, notes that eight describe it as female, while a few assert that the spirit is not a single person, but a real couple, husband and wife. The remainder claim the masculine sex for their spirit.[27]

In old China,

> *Chieh* was the spirit of the hearth, wearing red clothes and having the appearance of a beautiful woman. [*Chieh* means chignon.] It is strange that the spirit of the hearth has a female appearance. Confucius is reported to have said that the cult of the hearth is a cult of old ladies. There is a difference between the spirits of the hearth and of the fire: the last one is a male spirit, and the first a female, which is assimilated with the first woman cook.[28]

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[23] N. Poppe, Zum Feuer Kultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major* **2**: 133, 1925.

[24] *Ibid.*, 140.

[25] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 169.

[26] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 128.

[27] H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Part 2, **2**: 901, Shanghai, Sikawei. See also *Li-ki*, Couvreur, **1**: 554. Ho Kien fu, 1899, Mission Catholique.

[28] M. Granet, *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, 308, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

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The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Sometimes the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes a single female, or a single male. The traditional picture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female. 776 354 372 562

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST 776

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people. 782 795

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

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after this rite is performed the sheep is offered to the 776
guardian deity of the family. The Ordos Mongols 782
perform the same rite for "Heaven" only, when for a 795
dinner a whole sheep is presented in its entirety to the
guest.[29]

CALENDAR OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES 796

At home, at midnight on New Year's, while the old parents are still sleeping, the family starts kindling a big fire, with wood and cypress boughs, in the courtyard before the sacred pole for "Heaven and all the spirits," and prostrates itself three times. The fire is not allowed to go out the whole day. On the roof of the living room, or in the courtyard before the pole, offerings are put on a small table: rolls of bread steamed or baked in oil, raisins, butter, wine. Holding Chinese incense sticks in their hands, the family prostrates itself nine times, crying: "Heaven and all the spirits protect us during the whole year." They sprinkle some wine to the cardinal points and throw out some crumbs of bread for hungry malignant souls. Then they bring the offerings down from the roof in order to perform the same rite with the same offerings before the guardian deity of the family, the spirits of the fire, the pole, the hearth, the gate, and the stables, and fix a Chinese incense stick before each of them. At dawn the elders, upon arising, enact the same rite in the courtyard for "Heaven and all the spirits." At evening, from the first until the fifteenth of the first month, a lantern is hung on the pole in the courtyard, sticks of incense are fixed at the door, and the whole family prostrates itself every day before the door and pole saying. "We prostrate ourselves for Heaven and all the spirits and the spirit of the door and of the pole.[30]

Before sunrise, several pieces of ice are put on top of the walls of the courtyard of the families in which no persons have died during the year.

After the elders finish their worshipping, they sit on the k'ang in order to receive the congratulations of the family. The eldest son presents them with a cup of wine, and the family prostrates itself nine times. The daughters-in-law make three prostrations to their husbands, and the youngest brothers and sisters prostrate themselves before the eldest three times, and then before each other in the same way. Then follows the traditional speech of the grandfather, well known over the country: "Rise early in the morning, work till late at night, tend the herds carefully, and spend your full energy on the fields, and all live peacefully together and forgive each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. I hope that Heaven and all the spirits will bless you, in order that you may build seven farm houses several stories high, may shear the wool of hundreds of sheep, may ride a hundred beautiful horses, and that your children and grandchildren may prosper as the waves of the sea rising with the tide, and be full of life and as exuberant as the rising flames of a fire into which oil is poured."

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[29] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, 489: 590, Peiping, 1947 (Monograph 11 of *Monumenta Serica*).

[30] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 625, *Das Neujahrsfest*, gives more details about New Year's.

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After breakfast the children in all the families collect some rolls and wine and go to congratulate the shepherds outside the village. They build a fire, warm up the wine, then pour a cup for each of them.

The youngsters go to the sacred hill to enact the Wei-sang for "Heaven and all the spirits," and throw into the air slips of paper on which is printed the picture of the "Wind Horse."

Back home the young folk enjoy performing the rite of Ying-hsi, the greeting of the goddess of Joy, after the manner of the Chinese. Sheep, horses adorned with ribbons, and cows are driven to a designated threshing floor, where a big fire is kindled, paper is burned, offerings of rolls and meat are given, and a libation is poured, while some bread is fed to the animals. Some say it is a rite honoring Lung-wang (the dragon king); others say it is a rite for the horse and cow spirits, in order that the cattle will be blessed. It is a very old rite, practiced in the entire province, from the time of the Chou (1122–256 B.C.).[31] Young folk at that time like to ride their best horses, have a race, and make fun.[32]

Back home with the animals, they go to congratulate relatives and friends, carrying with them some wine and six rolls; they honor first the guardian deity of the family they visit, and then prostrate themselves before the family. At evening, on the first and the second of New Year's, the eldest son kindles lamps and incense sticks for each of the spirits in the courtyard. He goes into all the rooms, putting a red hot stone into a pot of boiling water in order to purify the rooms.

On the morning of the third day, after performing the rite of the sacred animal, the male members of the family go to the cemetery to honor the dead, by means of libations, prostrations, burning paper, incense sticks, and offering rolls.

Some people, on the sixth, invite a lama to read texts in the family. From the sixth until the sixteenth, old people stay at home, and every evening the young folk gather on the largest threshing floor of the village, to sing, dance, and have fun.

On the fifteenth, in the morning, the Monguors kindle a large Wei-sang for "Heaven and all the spirits" on the highest mountain of the village; at evening, men and women jump over the fire heaps, which according to the Monguors is a rite promoting fecundity.

On the second of the second moon is enacted the rite of the guardian spirit of the village, who goes to pay a visit to all the families of the village. Its statue is placed in a sedan chair and carried by four youngsters, preceded by the guardian of the temple carrying an old bow and arrow and quiver. The members of each 776 family kneel at the door and prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. At the return of the spirit, the chief of the village and the elders wait for it in the temple yard and congratulate the spirit and thank it for its kindness and blessings. On a table are placed three triangular *torma*, five balls of dough, adorned with some butter, and a bottle of wine. The chief of the village rubs some butter on the face of the spirit, and on the faces of the carriers and the guardian. Then the faces of the carriers are powdered with flour, and a ball of dough is pressed into their mouths. Wine is drunk and the spirit re-enters the temple.

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[31] Granet, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 166.

[32] Schröder, *Anthropos* 41–44: 183, 1946.

On the fifth of April the ancestors of the clan are worshipped in the old clan cemetery followed by races and the clan assembly. Three days before, they honor their ancestors in their private cemeteries. A few days later, in all the villages, is enacted the shamanist rite of spring, as has been noted, and the rites against hail.

The twenty-ninth of the fifth moon and the sixth and the twenty-ninth of the sixth moon are days for the young folk to make merry in most of the villages. There is singing and dancing and some villages have races and wrestling.

In the sixth moon the spirit of the Obo is honored, and at the foot of the mountain a big crowd enjoys races.

In the eighth moon the Monguors honor the moon just as the Chinese do.

In the ninth moon the thanksgiving rite for the harvest is performed in the temple. A few days later Chinese performers are invited to give a puppet show for several nights in the village. If the three festivals given at the lamaseries every year be added to these as well as the distractions afforded by marriages, funerals, the celebration of birthdays, and the worshipping of the goddess of the hearth at the end of the year, an idea can be gained of the calendar of religious activities and distractions during a whole year in the Monguor society.

XII. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

THE CULT OF FAMILY DEITIES

776
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It is a fact of common knowledge that "the earliest obtainable reports about the popular religion of the Mongols invariably speak about the images of house gods, placed on stands at both sides of the entrances of their tents. They believed that these gods took care of their flocks . . . , that they were the protectors of the family and of its wealth." They were called "Ongghot."[1] This custom of honoring house gods was very old and general. The Monguors, when they settled in the country of Huang-chung, were addicted to this ancestral tradition and continued its practice, for today in

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[1] W. Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

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every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity 776
of the family. 342

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the 776
families is very peculiar. Once a family starts wor- 428
shipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in 782
that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose 592
its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the
long train of miseries would never stop.

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is 688
a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li 776
of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, 592
Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there.

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

[p.125(B)]

the spirits for so long a time, urged her husband to take 688
with him the fateful picture. The villagers of Li chia 776
t'ai, however, did not allow him to introduce the ill- 592
boding spirits into their village. At night the son-in-law buried the picture in a deserted, ruined house in P'irke. After one or two years the fact became known. The wrath of the P'irke villagers was great enough to bring suit against Li ssu, but the court of Li T'u-ssu ordered the defendant to defray the expenses of inviting twelve shamans (for they honor the twelve spirits) in order to conciliate the spirits, to repair the outrage, and to offer a sheep, incense, and oil. After the preparations were performed, the shamans took with them the picture,[2] and firecrackers were set off. This fact illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Monguors concerning the duty of continuing the cult of the deities honored by the ancestors.

MOST SPIRITS ARE TAOIST

Since nearly every family has an uncle or a son who 771
is a lama, it would seem obvious that most of the deities 776
honored in the families should belong to Lamaism—all the more so because in nearly every valley there is a big or a small wealthy lamasery, and Lamaism reached the highest peak of glory with its celebrated Hutukhtus two centuries ago. However, it seems not to be so. The number of families honoring a Lamaist guardian deity is far smaller than of those honoring Taoist deities, and even the twelve spirits with their black tiger rider of the shamans. This astonishing fact requires an explanation.

The Monguors are a practical people. At the feast of spring, when the shamans invite spirits to come to the temple along the rope, no Lamaist deities are invited, and none arrive. The shamans honor their Tengris and the Taoist spirits, and combat the hail scourge by help from all of them. Honoring at home the same spirits which are honored in the temple of the village will provide more security for their worshippers against the dreaded hail, so most of the Monguors prefer at home the cult of these deities honored by the shamans, who are considered to be more powerful and more expert in this field than the lamas.

The reasons for the Monguor preference for non- 771
Lamaist protector deities, explain why they adopt Taoist 776
or shamanist spirits. It was always said that "Heaven" 592
is never honored as a family spirit. However, in the families, there are encountered the cults of the spirits of the mountain, the earth, the five roads, the dragon king, the mother gooddess, the horse king, and the cow king. The temples of the villages are dedicated to the same spirits. Some families honor the Twelve Tengris of the shamans with the tiger rider. However, most of the Monguors, at the time of the division of the extended family, when they have to choose a new family

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[2] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 603. Among the Alar-Buryats, images of family deities must be removed by the shaman who honors the deity.

[p. 126(A)]

guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma,* and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

cense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The 795
spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The 756
shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking 782
whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, 592
and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting 776
before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits.

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, al- 795
ways recognized that before their conversion they en- 776
joyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times.

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact 592
to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. 776
This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols.

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769 In the Ordos region there is encountered a text which is still recited at the festivities in honor of Khutuktai Setsen Kung Taiji, great-grandfather of Sanang Setsen, by a lay official called *djumu*, who presides over the sacrifices offered on the grave of the hero being worshipped. Father Mostaert has called my attention to the fact that such invocations always start with the invitation to come down and to rest for awhile in the midst of the congregation. The invitation is first to Chingis Khan, his wives, his sons, and ministers, and continues with the same invitation to the hero honored at the moment, followed by an invitation to his glorious descendants, the spirits of earth, and the four points of the compass. Then the spirits are invited to enjoy the offerings, which are enumerated, and to extend their protection over the worshippers. Such conventions of the Mongols of the Ordos take place, like those of the Monguors, in the presence of a great number of invited spirits and departed ancestors, who are supposed to descend among the worshippers.[8]

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE FAMILIES

753 In order to avoid repetitious descriptions of practices concerning the curing of ailments, prevention of diseases among children, and means to undo the harm wrought in families by evil spirits, which are encountered in all the books dealing with shamanism and Lamaism, and are nearly the same everywhere, only a few practices will here be recorded revealing the peculiar ways and psychology of the Monguors.

The Monguors, nominally fervent adherents of Lamaism, ought to ascribe ailments and all kinds of mischief and calamities to their own acts in some former life, according to the law of retribution. They should, therefore, wait peacefully for a happy recovery and for an end to the calamities. In fact, however, as soon as a member of the family takes ill, or some harm is done, without inquiring a bit about the possible natural causes of the disease or other trouble, they imagine themselves confronted by evil spirits, or having themselves stirred the spleen of some spirit. Accordingly, they do not invite a doctor and try medicines, or try to help themselves, but run in a hurry to the man who can withstand the evil spirits, conjure them and drive them away. Such men are always at hand—lamas of the Yellow and Red Sects, white or black shamans, and the Kurtain.

755 The first problem facing all these troubled people is to detect the trouble-making spirit, and then to find the means either to placate the spirit, or to combat it and drive it away.

The theatrical Kurtain, possessed by his spirit, declares with his head shaking that in his trance he knows the culprit, and starts immediately with wild evolutions to combat it and drive it out of the house with his sword. A couple of devout old Monguors reverently told me that on sick people the Kurtain practiced washing with boiling water, piercing his chest and that of the patient with his sword, putting in his mouth red-hot stones and vomiting them out again, but they themselves had never seen the Kurtain practicing these actions. All other Monguors, however, burst into peals of laughter when I inquired about these tales.[4] 755

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[8] F. A. Mostaert, Ordosica, *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking*, Nov. 1934: 58.

White shamans get indications about the evil-doer by listening to their drum, wherein their Tengris reveal the culprit and the means of combatting it; or they use their staff, by means of which their Tengris inform them. The Red lamas use the staff into which descends the deity whom they peculiarly honor, in order to be able to undo the harm. They say that they invite not an unknown spirit but the deity to which they are devoted to enter the staff, for evil spirits could also possess the staff and lead them astray. The shaman, worked into a frenzy, combats and drives out the spirit with whip, spear, and sword (but he does not use the sword at the time of the spring rite). Red lamas read texts for some days and make *tormas,* and are as capable as the shaman is in practicing the rites of the scape-goat,[5] or that of the sedan chair, in which the evil spirit is carried away and buried in a pit;[6] or the torturing of the straw doll, or the cypress burning with plenty of aromatics, or the black, white, and red Wei-sang rite.[7] Shamans, when healing the sick, use the rope[8] along which the escaped souls of the patients are called back, captured in a bottle, and restored to them. Yellow lamas are invited by the Monguors to read texts and make *tormas* for seven days when things go wrong. They also practice the rite of the scape-goat and the burying of different kinds of urns[9] in order to conciliate the earth god.

All of them, shamans and lamas, perform upon the sick the practice, well known all over Asia, of applying over the entire body pieces of bread and paper soaked in water, and saying, "Those who came from the north, go back to the north and wait at a crossroad for other wayfarers." They repeat the same words for each of the points of the compass and then the used bread and paper are brought to a crossroad and thrown on it. A goat is killed and the head is thrown in the direction of the cemetery of the wicked people. Nobody dares to eat such heads. All the rites performed by shamans, Kurtains, and Red lamas are accompanied by terrible noisemaking and crying and theatrical evolutions. After all holes in the walls have been plugged and the doors closed and sealed, in order to prevent the evil spirit from escaping, the foe is searched for in all the 755 nooks and corners of the rooms and stables. A terrible struggle with it is engaged in with swords and whips. It is tortured and finally driven away to a crossroad at night, with the help of the neighbors firing guns. These rites have been described hundreds of times.

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[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 852, *Krankenwaschung.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 844, *Dämonengeleit.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 847, *Figurensanft.*

[7] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 860, *Der Feuerguss.*

[8] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 581. It is strange how all over Asia souls and spirits are supposed to walk on ropes.

[9] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 856, *Erdgott-urne.*

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Some of the answers supplied by the spirits of the staff to shamans and lamas concerning the causes of mischief and calamity among the Monguors are worthy of notice.

The goddess, sitting in the imposing sedan chair in 776 the middle of the temple of the village, receiving the 755 worshipping villagers and smelling the incense smoke, is, none the less, in an ill mood and bad tempered, because, like many of her sex, being fond of a new piece of clothing, she wants a new mantle. The shaman says: "She has worn the mantle for five or more years; its color has faded; it has been mended so many times by the thrifty villagers, that really, she can hardly keep it on her shoulders; she is ashamed to be greeted and approached by people who are better clad than she. Give a fine new mantle to your goddess and the disease will vanish." Or it is said that the goddess, while visiting the god Erh-lang, had lost her earrings which must be replaced.

Once it was the deity honored by the family in the 755 living room which resented the family's neglect and disregard of it. An act of propitiation had to be performed and a sheep or goat offered in reparation. Once it was the shadow of a deceased member of the family which passed over the sick, eager to take with it another member of the family. Once it was the Twelve Tengris, weak and starving for lack of being nourished by a sacrifice during many months, who drastically urged a sacrifice. Once it was the case of a spell cast upon the sick by a fiendish neighbor. A solution has to be found for all such cases, using one of the means noted above.

The following should be noted for its philosophical interest. When the shadow of a deceased is supposed to have caused the disease, the shaman, having made a straw manikin and transfixed it with the dagger, and pulled it burning outside the courtyard, traces outside the gate three small circles and one bigger in size. He pours in each several cups of noodles and tea. The food in the three small circles is intended to feed the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations of the sick man, and the food in the big one is intended for the roaming alien souls. Ancestors of no more than three generations are fed, because those of older generations are supposed to have vanished. The same custom has been noted at the feast of the Spring.

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE VILLAGES

Not only individual families are supposed to be 783 harmed by evil spirits. The entire village may be haunted by spirits, and so every year in wintertime the

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evil spirits hidden in the village have to be expelled. 783
Usually the shaman is invited to drive them out. Sometimes a lama of the Red Sect is invited.

The shaman molds a small manikin with red earth 756
and straw. It is carried from house to house by four 783
young boys. Five boys, six years of age, run in front, each having half of his face blackened with soot and half whitened with flour. Carrying a bow, hammer, spear, and knife, they enter every courtyard, shouting at the top of their voices, leaping and gesticulating. Each member of the family rubs his face with a piece of a roll and red dyed cotton, and then puts these two items in a basket before the manikin. The whole group, with the shaman, then goes to the place reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They light a big fire and burn the manikin and all the items. The shaman performs the dance which makes the evil spirits harmless, curses them and threatens to torture them if they dare to come again. This rite is also performed every time epidemics, such as measles, harm the village.

This rite to chase the evil spirits of the year, performed at the end of the year by the shaman, accompanied by boys six years of age whose faces are half blackened with soot and half whitened with flour, recalls the rite performed by the Wu shaman in old China. It is recorded as early as the Han dynasty (202 B.C.). The *fang hsiang* Wu led boys under the age of puberty, who were the principal performers of the rite. They beat drums, cursed and drove out the evil spirits. The boys did not wear a cap and gown of the same color, but a red cap and black gown.[10] It is strange how this old rite is still performed on the borders of Tibet after so many centuries, for the same purpose and at the same season, by the Monguor shaman, accompanied by immature boys, whose faces are bicolored as was the dress of the boys in ancient times.

In all the lamaseries in the country on the twenty- 783
ninth of the last moon, the lamas drive out the evil 792
spirits hidden in the monastery. Several *torma* are prepared, a big one painted with a coat of red paint. Texts, liturgical incantations and curses are recited by the lamas in the temple. The lamas, in a group, bring the ominous *torma* out of the monastery to a lonely, deep valley where a big fire is kindled. The *tormas* are burned with the same recitation of liturgical curses, and the lamas return at full speed without looking backward. At the same time, in most of the monasteries, there is pasted up an enormous head of a bull, made of paper, on which are written the names of the Chinese generals, Nien Keng-yao and Yueh Chung-ch'i, who in 1723 burned their lamaseries. They hope that the bull spirit may still molest their foes in their graves. In Kumbum the rite is performed after the festivities of the fifteenth of the first moon.

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[10] M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 300-301.

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SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all 756
kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are 755
scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging in- [691 578]
justice and outrages, which cannot be avenged by 754
legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseen, the limping chief of the village of Ch'üe-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the

old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be 754
the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to [583]
sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such 203
tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and 754
commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

777
According to the Monguors, persons who commit 685
injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the 556
wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.[11] 777
Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding 685
a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in 556
possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution. Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa;* but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. 782
The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a 685
rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on 782
it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one 556
on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

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[11] The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français,* 215*b*, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.,* 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.,* 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha.* Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker,* 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it. J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientale,* Roma, IV, Part I, 1952, The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 792
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

Seerting group, but also among some families living in 776
the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that 425
long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run [753
away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the 574]
family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in behalf 776
of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken
cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble [171]
those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

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[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 *li* south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 *li* west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdämon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

OM MANI DAYS AND BUMKHANG.

It has been noted that in many villages an additional 796
temple besides the community temple, had been built 792
and dedicated by zealous villagers to a Buddhist deity. Every year, in summertime, some lamas, very often of the Red Sect, are invited to perform the rite of the Om Mani. Butter, flour of roasted spelt, and tea are collected among the villagers. The lamas prepare the *tormas,* the cups with water, spices and flowers, the 108 lamps, recite texts, beat drums, ring bells. After the texts are recited the villagers start to make the thousand circumambulations around the temple, saying "Om Mani," spinning the prayer wheels, and moving from east to west in the ritual way. Old and young are keenly interested in the practice and all help to perform the thousand turns. Three lamas sit on a woolen carpet outside the temple, noting the number of turns performed by each villager who comes to have his merits noted. It is a busy day for the lama accountants. It is an interesting rite, performed in high spirits by the whole community. Youngsters run around the temple, competing in speed, praying "Om Mani" while old people walk, absorbed in devotion.

Another quite different Om Mani rite is enacted six times a year by older people, mostly women, members of an Om Mani society, which has a small fund for securing tea and rolls for the devotees. It consists of circumambulations around a Bumkhang, and the turning of prayer wheels, but in a west to east direction. The number of circumambulations is not fixed. All day long the moving devotees go on continuously. At least one lady has to be on the way at all times saying "Om Mani." At the time of calamities the whole population performs the rite.

Bumkhang means "home of the 100,000." Outside 731
of many villages is built a small Lamaist construction 792
at the time calamities afflict the village: epidemics, epi- [946]
zootics, diseases, drought, too much rain. According to the Monguor tradition these mischievous plottings of evil spirits have to be neutralized by magical means by lamas of the Red Sect. They are reputed to be more skilled than lamas of the Yellow Sect in indicating, by means of the deity whom they personally honor and invite to descend into their staff, the way along which these evils are approaching the village, and by what magical means the way can be blocked. Because the rite is thoroughly magical, the circumambulation is made from west to east, and the prayer wheels are turned in the same direction, the opposite way from that prescribed by the Yellow Sect.

Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies,* Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China) 222 sq., 1952; also Der Hundekopfdämon im Volksglauben des Westtales under des Chinesichs Tibetischen Kontakgebietes im Osttales von Kuei-te in der Provinz Ch'inghai, 143, where the same belief is noted concerning the cat and the dog among the Tibetans of Penpa, neighbors of the Monguors. See also Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen,* Fuchs I, 40.

Such constructions are never built inside the villages 731
or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a 792
road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the 346
village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u Kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa*. They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against hail as that of the shamans.

On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in 731
their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red 782
cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building.

When the building of the walls was finished, the images 731
having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with 782
ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir- 731
cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people 782
conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a 789
new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting [114]
study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of 785
the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red 792
Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the 785
whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting 792
(taking one meal a day), while the others are free to
indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of
meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all
the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining
River do not perform fasting in a group of their own
sect, but always some among them attend the fasting
rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences [783]
of which have an important bearing on the
formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people.
The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy
rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples 795
spread over the country, under the direction of a lama 785
of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old 792
lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend
any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the
villagers of the locality where the exercises are held,
and by the committee which has a small fund and collects
some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered
to be a very meritorious act. The day before
the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes [622
corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying 651]
of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress
boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming
bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor.
At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth
month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth
of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During
the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not [262
allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink 784]
wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

selves at night only with their own clothes. Before 795
dawn the conch shell trumpet is blown, and all arise and 785
wash their faces and hands. A youngster comes and 792
pours some water in their cupped hands, with which faces and hands are cleansed. The fingers pass across the hair and toilet is done. In the meantime, a big cypress fire is kindled in the courtyard and the fasters cause the smoke to enter their large sleeves and gowns, whereupon the body is supposed to be ritually purified.[13] The lama director, helped by Red lamas or laymen, kneads flour of roasted spelt with butter, makes three ritual *tormas* with the dough, and disposes them on the altar before the Buddha picture for two days. Then they are thrown away and three new ones take their place. In front of the picture, 108 butter lamps burn all day during the whole rite; 108 cups are displayed containing the ritual holy water and a flower, along with two high vessels, one of them containing pure water and the other sugar water. In the temple, men kneel behind the lama and the women behind the men. The lama starts reading the texts, which very few among the fasters are able to read with him, but it is said that the merits of devoutly listening to texts which are not understood are exactly the same. He explains the rules to be observed in order to obtain the merits of the rites. The fasting exercises are to be performed at least for two consecutive days; it would be better to perform them for more days, and it would be best of all to persevere to the end. Several fasters drop away after two days, others start again a few days later, many attend the exercises of the first and of the last two days, but all of them have to attend the meal at every noon, attend the lecture in the afternoon, and sleep in the temple every night. In the meantime, the absentees visit neighbors or bask in the sunshine.

On the days of silence, it is strictly forbidden to talk, lest all the merits of the fast be lost. Except at meal time, it is strictly forbidden to swallow anything, even saliva; the whole day the noise of spitting never stops. During the sixteen days, it is strictly forbidden to kill any living being. In the sunshine, whole rows of fasters are seen searching in their clothes for vermin and putting them on the ground with devotion. It is strictly forbidden to take a nap during the sixteen days, or to go home.

After the explanation of the rules, the exercises start. The director blesses the sugar water, and reads some texts; a servant pours a few drops of sugar water into the hands of each of the fasters, who swallow it devoutly. Holding in his hand a cypress bough dipped in pure water, the servant sprinkles some drops in their hands which they swallow and spit on the floor. It is called *chiap*, which means the ritual cleansing of the tongue and the mouth. Then follows a strict command against moving, and the servant pours milk tea,

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[13] Granet, *Danses et légendes*, *op. cit.*, 383. Purification by smoke was well known in old China.

with discretion, into the cup which every faster holds 795
hidden in his gown. Then follows a new chiap and 785
the mouth is purified. The first exercise is finished and 792
the fasters go into the courtyard to have a talk.

At nine o'clock there is a second meeting in the temple. Prayers are said by the lama, followed by 108 Om Mani said over the beads, with devotion, in a slow tempo. The recitation of the Om Manis constitutes the basis of every gathering. This time there is no instruction or preaching, but again the rite of sugar water and chiap is performed.

At eleven, the same exercise is held in the temple as at nine o'clock, and immediately thereafter they have the only meal of the day, which consists of milk tea and rolls boiled in oil, followed by the ritual chiap. According to the rules the meal has to be finished before noon.

At the three o'clock meeting in the temple, the director gives prayers and preaching which may last for two or more hours; there is no sugar water, and no chiap. Then the fasters go to the courtyard for a talk. When the sun has set, they gather in the temple. There are no more prayers, but sugar water and chiap, milk tea at discretion, again sugar water and chiap. At dusk the fasters enter their respective dormitories, and strict silence is observed.

The second day is one of strict silence. At dawn, they meet in the temple, for prayers and Om Manis. The sugar water on that day is not swallowed but rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. After the meeting, the fasters bask in the sun, reciting Om Manis, or turning the prayer wheels. At nine o'clock the same performance is held as in the morning, and sugar water is rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. At eleven, the same rites are held as at nine o'clock, and the same meal is held as on the first day. At the three o'clock meeting they have prayers and preaching, and put sugar water on the hair; at sunset the same rite is held as on the first evening.

On the third day, after the morning rites, it is permissable to speak, and the rites are the same as on the first day. At noon the menu is changed, and noodles and milk tea are served.

The rites on the fourth day are the same as those of the second day, with strict silence, and so on, for sixteen days. During the whole fasting time, Wei-sang is not practiced, but every morning a big cypress fire is built in order to smoke the body.

According to the fasters, the observance of the rules is very difficult. Although the Monguors are used to eating whenever they like, the whole day long, they say that the single meal is the least part of the problem; the worst parts are the terrible regularity of the schedule and the deadening silence. This is quite understandable, especially as the rites last for sixteen days. No wonder that young people are not fond of the rite, and that mostly older, devout, and religious-minded people, and

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people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the 792
usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get informa- 115
tion from fasters concerning that captivating subject, [124]
and asked the children in the schools about what 785
grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

However, it was always said that the directors of the [792]
exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some 785
were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the 869
old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are 785
people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in 829
former existences, or for their covetousness or in- 869
justices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the

[p. 135(A)]

directors of the exercises, and their stock of punish- 785
ments for injustices never seemed to be exhausted. 829
People who committed injustices had to repair their 869
faults by being a servant, in their future life, of the person who had suffered on their account, or of being reborn as a donkey, a horse, or an ox, plowing their fields, carrying fertilizer, or harvesting. Even the slightest injustices are not overlooked by the terrible judge, for in order to repair the smallest injustices he makes men and women transmigrate into a hen, laying eggs for years, in behalf of the person who suffered because of them. The topic of reparation for injustices seemed to be an obsession of all the preachers, who seldom hinted at other questions of morals, and so the feeling concerning the widespread rite of repairing injustices, among laymen as well as lamas, and even Hutukhtus, becomes understandable. Never did they hint at the shamanist rites performed in private families.

The topic of the old Li, concerning gentle behavior 538
with animals, was the delight of the fasters, who every year asked him to tell again the marvelous anecdotes he had stored in his repertory concerning the subject, for in his lively telling even old chestnuts took on a new glow. The keen interest of nomads in their animals is a matter of common knowledge. Since the Monguors still love their animals in the way of their ancestors, it is no wonder that they asked for that topic, and that they adored the old Li, whose talks hit straight at their hearts. Below are some of his well-known examples.

In India, an old Living Buddha went every day to 539
preach in monasteries and explain texts. He rode an old elephant which, while the religious exercises of his master lasted, knelt devoutly, listening before the temple gate. The old Living Buddha loved all animals with effusion, and especially his faithful elephant. When the elephant died, the Living Buddha made it reincarnate in a strong boy belonging to a poor family. The heavy boy had the exact gait of an elephant, a big, oval long head, unusually long nose and ears, and an appetite as voracious as that of an elephant. No room was left for doubt; the elephant had reincarnated in a human being. The boy, at the age of seven, became the beloved apprentice of the old Living Buddha. After a few years, the master and his apprentice died at the same time. The reincarnation of the holy man was found in a boy endowed with the same characteristics as an elephant, but in addition he had on the palms of both hands and the soles of his feet the marks of the Buddhist "wheel of life," the characteristic of Living Buddhas. This boy was the genuine incarnation of the holy man who had loved the elephant to such an extent. The new Buddha became as celebrated over all India for his elephant features as for his universal charity, which extended not only to human beings, but even to all animals.

Also in India, a holy lama, very fond of animals, squatted under a tree from dawn to dusk, year after year, devoutly reciting sacred texts, and only a lovely 539 pigeon, perching on the lowest branch of the tree, was listening and enjoying the reading of the holy books, during all these years. The holy man loved the pigeon ardently and fed it every day. The pigeon died, and was reincarnated in a boy born into a poor family in the mountains, and on the very day of his birth he asked distinctly, three times, "Where is my master so-and-so?" The fact spread all over the country like a prairie fire; everybody came to look at the wonderful boy whose fingers and toes were webbed, whose hands were unusually beautiful and fine. As the boy grew he walked as upright as a pole, always his right foot first. Nobody had ever seen such a handsome, intelligent boy. Then the parents were told, by lamas, that the boy was the incarnation of the lovely pigeon, which during years had enjoyed the reading of the texts of the holy man whose name he pronounced three times at the very moment of birth. The boy became a celebrated learned lama, endowed with universal charity for animals. The congregation enjoyed the moralistic conclusion: be kind to animals, because Buddha loves such persons and blesses their families; their merits will be turned into more joy in paradise and the rebirth will be more happy and outstanding.

In Tibet, on the summit of a mountain, there lived in a cave a holy hermit, always praying in order that the animals might be happy, and preaching the love of animals. In his cave hung the picture of a Buddha, painted in a wonderful landscape, wherein a couple of cows grazed in a meadow. The holy man, practicing severe penance, received from the people some flour and tea leaves, and always he drank tea without milk or butter (which is one of the most tremendous kinds of penance for Tibetans). Once Buddha, delighted with the behavior of the holy hermit, suggested that he approach the picture hanging on the wall, and gave him the power to milk both the cows that were there depicted, and from that time on the holy man got milk in his tea. So great is the love of Buddha for those who love animals.

Another topic of the lectures concerned the necessity 538 of performing acts of charity, giving alms to the poor, and especially to the lamas, in order to get remission of sins and an easy entrance into paradise. The merits of good acts performed in behalf of holy lamas, Living Buddhas, and lamaseries are more important and valuable than those performed for less holy men, because lamas are the beloved of Buddha, and the good old Li supported his assumption by a lot of savory examples.

A certain old lama was the beloved of Buddha to such 539 an extent that several times, when he was praying in the temple, the lamas saw all the statues opening their eyes, moving their heads, and smiling wonderfully at him. Another was so holy that once, as he said his Om Mani over his beads, they became red hot from the glow of his love, and melted away. Another holy lama was preaching in a wealthy village. The chief of the

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village started ridiculing and deprecating him. Buddha 539
could not stand this, and made five tongues protrude out of the chief's mouth and made him fall dead on the spot, after which the village became a barren waste.

Another of the Living Buddha's topics, several times repeated to me, was that all the Monguor and Tibetan tribes would disappear, many families already being without male issue. The reason, he said, is that nearly all the departed already dwell in paradise and wait there for us, so that now the faster Monguors and Tibetans disappear, the sooner paradise will be furnished with happy inhabitants. "Make your sons become lamas," he would say, "for lamas surely arrive in paradise. However, among the dying, only those who, at the very moment of their death, trust in Buddha may hope to be reborn in a lotus near Buddha, where for thousands of years they will be happy, and where all the inhabitants will be taller and stronger and more beautiful than we are here."

Such are the topics of most of the preaching during 538
the fast exercises. Many times the fasters repeated that they loved the old Li because after every preaching he made them crave for pardon for all their sins, and because he could say the Om Manis over his beads with a wonderful unction. He had touched the hearts of the people.

IMPACT OF THE FASTING RITES UPON MONGUOR SOCIETY

Although these exercises were only attended by a 771
relatively small number of older people, their impact 785
upon the families cannot be overestimated, because the 869
old people repeated at home the topics of the lectures and the anecdotes, and because, since the authority with which the old people are vested in a patriarchal society is supreme, they cultivated in the orbit of the family the sense of religiosity; the habit of praying and of craving for pardon. Chiefs, and elders of villages who had attended the meetings, unconsciously and unwittingly were guided by these principles in the administration of the village and in the patching up of troubles. The impact was all the more important because, year after year, the exercises were repeated by the adored old Li, a man with an illustrious pedigree, a scion of the noble and wealthy family of the Li T'u-ssu. The old Li was a personality who provoked a revival of religious feeling in the country.

The anecdotes, ingenuously narrated in the schools by the children, had led me to make inquiries among the fasters themselves about the fast exercises, which before had seemed to me to be an unimportant institution, attended by old women without any bearing on the religious life of the communities. However, taking account of the overall number of the yearly participants in the six centers, and the number of men who attended them, even chiefs of villages and elders, and of the fact that in a patriarchal society the old people wield a supreme influence and also of the strong personality of the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with 771 these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet 785 anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall 869 on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray, when hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence.

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who controls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION 175

792 In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly

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lamas, whose prayers secured the remission of sins and 175 peace in the families, and assured entrance into the 792 paradise of Buddha. The ceremonies lasted for forty-five days and were attended by an immense crowd. All the expenses of the forty-five days were defrayed by rich families. Every day, the intendant told me, ten thousand butter lamps were lit; four hundred pounds of butter were required for the lamps and the meals of the lamas; ten bricks of tea were needed, fifteen sheep, sixty pounds of vegetable oil, flour of roasted spelt, raisins, and sugar for five hundred lamas. Moreover, every day each of them received alms of one dollar.

Their morning meal consisted of milk, tea, butter and *tsamba.*[14] At noon they received butter tea, and rolls baked in vegetable oil. At evening they were served noodles and meat or meat prepared with rice, sugar, and raisins. The entire community of Seerkok had a good time together with the saintly guests, and the monastery reaped valuable benefits. This fact gives an insight into the unusual prodigality displayed by the Monguors and Tibetans when cult and religion are concerned.

At the time of the big festivities celebrated at the monasteries in the country, the rich families are accustomed to compete with each other to defray the expenses, and to entertain the entire community of the lamas. Then the devoted donor, seated on a reviewing stand with his whole family and his relatives, enjoys the ritual representations and receives, before the faithful audience, the blessings of the Living Buddha, the red knotted ribbon on the neck, and the gracious touch of the rod to which a *khata* is attached, and the scarf of felicity put on his shoulders. Manguru, the rich Tibetan who had succeeded in winning his suit against the well-known Living Buddha Temma, the bridge builder, presiding over the ceremony, defrayed the expenses of such a festival at Erh-ku-lung immediately after his victory. He was admired and celebrated by the crowd.

Rich families, being really devoted to Lamaism, offer substantial alms to the monasteries and entertain the lamas lavishly with tea, *tsamba,* sheep, rice, sugar, and raisins, at the death of an elder member of the family, and several times during the year. This custom is not unusual because most of the families have relatives among the lamas, and the rich like to enjoy the reputation of being prodigal toward the monasteries.

CELEBRATION OF THE CYCLE OF AGE

GENERAL RITE

The Chinese, for many centuries, have been ac- 527 customed to having a celebration at the completion of their cycle of age, which is sixty years.[15] The Monguors and Tibetans of Hsining follow the Chinese custom, performing this celebration in their own way on their sixtieth birthdays. The cycle of age is celebrated according to the wealth of the people with more or less festivity, with a master of ceremony, dinners which, as at marriages, are served around a big fire, songs, Members of the family, relatives, chiefs of the village, friends, are invited and offer their congratulations. Poor people are happy to kill a sheep and to entertain fewer guests. Many Monguors and Tibetans are accustomed to add to this celebration a Lamaist religious rite, inviting a Living Buddha, and ostentatiously offering him substantial alms, receiving his blessings and assuming on that day the duty of observing more Lamaist prescriptions, by becoming a kind of lay-monk or lay-nun. Even poor people add this rite, but act in a more modest way. 527

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[14] *Tsamba*—parched barley flour, eaten in the form of dough made into balls, with butter tea.

[15] Yeh Te-lu, The celebration of the Emperor's Birthday during the T'ang dynasty *Fu-jen Hsueh-chih,* 125, 1939. A birthday was not considered an occasion for congratulations and rejoicing in ancient China. The celebration began only with

The essence of the rite of the cycle of age among the Monguors consists in the required assistance of the maternal uncle of the subject of the feast. The latter's presence is so important that in case he has departed, a member of his family must take his place. The ceremony consists in a morning rite attended by all the guests, the honoring by the celebrant of "Heaven and all the spirits" in the open courtyard, with the setting off of firecrackers, immediately followed by his honoring the guardian deity of his family on the altar in the living room. The rich and the poor, and those who add the Lamaist rite, always are faithful to the two essential customs. The fact that at this time some invite a Living Buddha and become a lay-monk is accidental, because most of the Monguors enact the celebration without this Lamaist rite. [604]

The men celebrate their cycle of age in a more or less elaborate way, but the women usually celebrate it on a minor scale. The Lamaist rite is usually performed on the same day, so that the expenses of two feasts are avoided and a big attendance is secured, for the Monguors are afraid few people would arrive for the celebration of a Lamaist rite only. It happens that sometimes a man may enact the Lamaist rite before his sixtieth birthday. In fact no time is fixed for the performance of this rite, it can even be done after death. More men than women perform the Lamaist rite, but young people are not interested in it.

In the early morning of the birthday the guests arrive, the members of the family and the relatives offer the traditional scarf and the "ten breads of longevity" and two jars of wine; sons-in-law add three strings of cash. The subject of the feast, holding incense sticks in his joined hands, led by his maternal uncle, proceeds

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the Ch'i-Liang dynasties (479–557) and came in vogue during the T'ang and the Sung. In 729 the imperial birthday was for the first time made a national festival. The institution of letting people join the Buddhist order as monk or nun on the imperial birthday dates from 767; the offering of felicitation to the emperor on his birthday dates from 820. On their birthdays, the T'ang Emperors used to fast, and hence the slaughter of animals was forbidden on these days; this institution dates from 837.

527 toward the middle of the courtyard where a big fire is built, which will not be allowed to go out the whole day. In the presence of all the guests, on the command of the master of the ceremonies, he prostrates himself devoutly three times, honoring "Heaven and all the spirits." Then, led by the maternal uncle and followed by the guests, he enters the living room, and on the command of the master of ceremonies prostrates himself again three times before the house altar, toward the picture of the guardian deity of his family, which usually is a Taoist spirit. Lamps are lit on the adorned altar during the whole day.

[604] Then the celebrant receives congratulations as he sits on the k'ang, surrounded by the maternal uncle, the chief of the village and the elders, and the members of the family who belong to a higher generation than his own. On the command of the master of ceremonies, first come the members belonging to the generation above his own, bowing their heads and presenting the traditional scarfs. Then arrive the members belonging to his own generation who, in a group, bow their heads and hands nine times and present their scarfs. Then follow the members belonging to younger generations, sons, grandchildren, who, in groups, one after another, prostrate themselves nine times and offer their scarfs. Then the celebrant prostrates himself before his maternal uncle and presents him with a scarf, and all the guests perform the same rite. Finally all the women prostrate themselves in a group before the celebrant and the maternal uncle. Thereafter a cup of wine is presented to the celebrant by the master of ceremonies, who makes the traditional speech with plenty of congratulations. Then follows the breakfast in the courtyard where the guests are accommodated as for the big dinners of marriage and where the celebrated "noodles of longevity" are served.[16]

The noodles are made with white flour of wheat cut in long thin filaments. The celebrant, with the maternal uncle and the most outstanding guests, occupies the middle table in the center of the courtyard, on which, in front of him, are put two empty bowls. Wine is presented and congratulations offered by the master of ceremonies, and all the guests one after another take some noodles out of their bowls and put them in the empty bowls of the celebrant, wishing him a happy new cycle of years. The breakfast of the women is served after that of the men. In the afternoon starts the gala dinner like the dinners at the marriages, followed by merrymaking.

LAMAIST RITE

527 604 792 Those who add the Lamaist rite send some youngsters of the village on good horses to the lamasery after breakfast, in order to invite the Living Buddha, who will arrive at noon. In the meantime, after breakfast, the maternal uncle, in the presence of the guests, starts inquiring about the alms the family has proposed to

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[16] Schram, *op. cit.*, 42.

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offer to the Living Buddha, and being very exacting, 527
according to the custom, he urges that they should offer 604
five or more horses, two or three hundred sheep, two 792
or three hundred pounds of butter, five hundred dollars. This moment is the very important opportunity for the master of ceremonies to display his utmost oratorical proficiency in behalf of the celebrant who invited him, bringing the amount of required alms to a rational level (which has been fixed beforehand on both sides!). It is a means of making known all over the country the prodigality of the family toward the lamas.

The Living Buddha, with his two or four assistants, is greeted on the threshing floor by all the guests kneeling, holding in their joined hands the incense sticks, and is led to the living room in order to drink tea and rest for a while. Then he comes to sit in the courtyard where he receives the prostrations and scarf of the maternal uncle and of the celebrant, and blesses all the guests, touching each one's head with the ritual red silk tassel attached to a short wooden rod, while the assistants prepare the *torma*. He enters the living room; the celebrant kneels before him, having at his side the maternal uncle. He drinks a first draught of holy water, presented to him by the Living Buddha, and spits the second gulp upon the *torma* placed before him, and swallows a third one. All his sins are spit upon the *torma;* he is interiorly purified, and the *torma* is thrown outside the courtyard.

The Living Buddha, having blown three times upon some spelt, throws it upon him, and the celebrant is smoked with pounded cypress leaves and cones. Holy water is sprinkled upon him with the ritual peacock feathers. Ritual texts are read over him, and the Living Buddha explains before all the guests the obligations [784] inherent in the blessings: to fast on the first and the fifteenth of the month and Wei-sang; to attend the fasting exercises held in the country every year; not to kill any living being, not drink alcohol, eat garlic, leeks, and radishes, nor eat birds and eggs; to abstain from the slightest injustices, to give alms, to pray more Om Mani. Finally a yellow scarf, previously blessed, is put by the Living Buddha on his left shoulder and bound under the right arm. The man has become a lay-monk. He will wear the scarf under or upon his cloths to his dying day, and hang it on the wall at night. Once in a while a very fervent lay-monk is encountered who has shaved his head like the lamas. However, it is reported that many of these lay-monks are not faithful to their obligations, because many perform the rite and invite a Living Buddha in order more to celebrate their cycle of age with greater display and pomp, than to perform an act of religion. Then follows the gala dinner in the courtyard, after which the Living Buddha retires into his private room and remains with the family overnight.

The next morning a breakfast of milk tea, rolls baked in oil, and mutton, is offered to the Living Buddha. While the family kneels in the room, an entire sheep is

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presented to the Living Buddha with the scarf. It is 527 the gift for outstanding persons. Then the master of 604 ceremonies makes his traditional speech. After having 792 thanked the Living Buddha, he starts his usual speech of apology: "We are ashamed to have treated the holy man so irreverently, the meat we prepared was tough and tasteless for it was meat of an old animal. The rolls were badly kneaded and hard, and boiled in rancid oil. The k'ang, on which the holy man slept was not heated enough. The holy man could not sleep a wink the whole night. Our k'ang is too short, the saintly man could not stretch out his noble legs. The felt spread on the k'ang was too thin, his holy limbs must be sore. We are a poor family and should like to offer a herd of sheep. We are ashamed to be only able to offer an old horse, saddled with a broken saddle. Our harvest this year was the worst we ever reaped, so we can afford only to offer a couple of sacks of rancid rolls. To add to our frustration, the wool of our sheep was so bad and short this year, that we can only offer a thin felt poorly prepared by an unskilled artisan. The butter we prepared for the lamas and the lamps is nearly all rancid. What we offer to you is more like a gift offered at a burial than a gift fit for these circumstances." Then the maternal uncle and the celebrant prostrate themselves, apologizing and presenting the scarf. The Living Buddha protests that he is very happy, and thanks the family for its prodigality, and promises his blessings.

At the moment of departure the family kneels with incense sticks in their joined hands at the gate of the courtyard; each of the assistant lamas receive two strings of cash, and the Living Buddha takes with him the packet of dollars. After him follow some youngsters with a beautiful horse, saddled with the finest saddle, and a precious rug upon it, with some animals carrying butter and tea for the lamas of the monastery, rolls, meat and sugar, and the news is spread all over the country that so and so offered such and such gifts with an unusual prodigality.

Poor families offer to the Living Buddha fifty strings of cash instead of a horse. The celebrant who belongs to a still poorer family goes at noon with his maternal uncle to the lamasery, in order to see a Living Buddha who performs the rites upon him and is presented with two strings of cash.[17]

This information was given me by several masters of ceremonies and Monguors who attended the rites, [115] and had themselves performed them.

XIII. DEATH

In connection with the funeral customs of the Mon- 761 guors, a few words should be said about their notions concerning the souls, because these have an important bearing upon the funeral customs.

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[17] Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Der Alters Segen*, 630.

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SOULS

The concept of the soul is one of the most confused 771
all over Asia. Chinese claim to have two souls: the 774
p'o and the ***hun***. The p'o appears at the moment of conception, the hun at the time of birth. At death, they are separated; the p'o dwelling with the corpse, the hun going to Heaven, to the domain of Shang ti. Hungry p'o become malignant kuei. However, according to old theories, they live only for three years after death. In later times it was imagined that there was a place for the p'o similar to that of the hun. When the mourning period is finished, the deceased becomes an ancestor.[1]

> Pure shamanism—i.e., shamanism before its contact [756]
> with Lamaism,—had no conception of another world or a realm of death; but another realm to which only the shaman had admission, which became adorned with many attributes of the Lamaistic Hades, as appears later in the more recent shamanistic incantations. In pure shamanism, the ghost and spirits of the dead remained in this world at their burial sites. These sites developed into haunted places, and through fear were tabu to all but the shamans who have power over these ghosts and spirits.[2]

Johannes de Plano Carpini (1246–1247) claimed that the Mongols had no notion about heaven or hell, but asserted that they entered another world after death, where they could tend animals,[3] and that their deceased, under the form of dolls, were put on a wagon guarded by shamans and honored on certain days. Later on, good men became good spirits, and so the entire branch of Chingis Khan became good spirits. Owing to Tibetan Buddhist influences, souls were incarnated in other men.[4] A judgment after death was supposed to take place, and a heaven and a hell and even a kind of purgatory to exist.[5] Schmidt concludes his synthesis of the religion of the oldest Turks by saying, "Because the soul is thought to have the shape of a bird, and because death is called 'flying away,' it seems to point to a flight to Heaven," so that a heaven might haxe existed.[6] The souls of princes were probably thought to enter Heaven where they lived in the way they lived on earth.[7]

The Buriats speak in a very confused manner about three souls.[8] The Yakuts believe the shaman has three souls, "the air soul," "the earth soul," and "the mother soul." During his childhood the threefold soul is taken away by the spirits, and his mother soul takes the shape of a "fantastic female."[9] These facts suffice to give an idea about the confusion reigning in Central Asia about the soul, and they prepare us to expect the same confu-

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[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 186.

[2] Heissig, *op. cit.*, 510.

[3] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 194, 195.

[4] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 105.

[5] *Ibid.*, 108–110.

[6] *Ibid.* 9: 65.

[7] *Ibid.*, 35.

[8] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, *Anthropos* 23: 578, 1928.

[9] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia*, 316, 1952.

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sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who 171
assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the soul of the 774
bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, 775
not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the sha-
man calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be [756]
harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concern- 761
ing the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large 774
role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, [171]
to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts 604
caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their 774
maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children 764
of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

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[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.

[11] Schram, Part I: 91.

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ceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave 604
the body).[12] Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-* 774
hsüeh, "bone and blood," for his bones come from the 764
father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou*, "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku*, "examining the bones."

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle 604
concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle.

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order 764
to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors 604
and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lamaseries, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news.

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that 774
of the first soul. The second soul is that which will 775
join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the
terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, [772]
from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many

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[12] This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

new beliefs have entered their minds. However, for 774
how long a time will the existence of this soul last? 775
Even though the lamas speak of a quasi-endless paradise with Buddha, and of successive rebirths, the Monguors honor the souls of only three older generations at the feast of spring, at the celebration of the family guardian deity, and at the time when shamans expel evil spirits from sick men. After that the souls seem to be finished.

The second soul seems to be more independent of the 774
body than the first one, because, during sleep, dreaming, 775
and fainting fits, it may wander to far-off countries, and 761
later recall what it saw or heard, and how it acted in these countries. At the moment of death, the family, on the roof of the house, implores it not to leave them. The shaman, curing the sick, calls this soul back with the two others along the rope. Immediately after death, the lama releases this soul through the bregmatic fontenelle. Surely, threfore, this soul leaves the body after death.

However, its existence has always been precarious. During life it was subject to being harmed by nefarious spirits, and after death, lamas must say prayers to help it reach paradise safely, in order that vampires may not devour it on the way. In the same way, the shamans at the feast of spring tell about the dangerous crossing of the bridge after death, and about vampires waiting for these souls.[13]

Siberian shamans travel to heaven in order to bring [171]
back souls abducted by evil spirits.[14] The Tungus believe that the soul remains for a certain time near the body,[15] and then a dog carries it into the lower world;[16] that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat,[17] and that a raven looks for the souls traveling, after death, to the lower world and brings the news to the soul's owner.[18] The release of the soul is a very important function of the shamans.[19]

The Monguors do not say in which part of the body 774
the soul is located, or from where it originated. At the 775
feast of spring, however, the shamans, when making fun, tell in a jocular manner how Tengri made seven men and seven women. The Tungus believe that the souls are given by the spirit;[20] they also say that the death of a man results in the birth of a new soul in the other (upper) world, and that the soul may be sent to a newborn human being.[21] Among the Ch'i-tan is recorded a sacrifice offered by the emperor in the tenth month, to the god of the sacred Black Mountain, who cares for the souls of the populace.[22]

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[13] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 191, 192.
[14] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 179.
[15] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 215.
[16] *Ibid.*, 210.
[17] *Ibid.*, 92.
[18] *Ibid.*, 142.
[19] *Ibid.*, 276.
[20] *Ibid.*, 128.
[21] *Ibid.*, 297.
[22] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204-214. [p.141(B)]

THE THIRD SOUL

The behavior of the Monguors toward this soul illus- 774
trates the basic approach prevailing all over Asia to the 775
problem of the soul. The Monguors care more for this 764
soul than for the other two because they are afraid of it. It becomes after death a kind of demon, ill-disposed toward its own family, harming its cattle and its wealth. This assumption is evidenced by their unkind attitude toward it, an attitude which shocks us. When the corpse is carried out of the courtyard, the lamas and the members of the family who are still in the courtyard, cry: "Do not come back and harm us, forget us forever and go to dwell elsewhere." The evening before the cremation, after all the guests have left, having said with devotion their Om Mani for a long time, the lamas immediately brutally chase the soul out of the courtyard and all the rooms. At the very moment of the cremation, the master of ceremonies makes the last traditional speech, before the oven, addressing the corpse: "We lavishly spent money and performed all the possible rites for your well-being, now go away and never come back to disturb us or to harm us.[23] Forget us forever; we will pray for you and make offerings." The fear of the departed is a real obsession. Most of the harm suffered is ascribed to them. Many of the deceased are supposed to be peculiarly fiendish and are buried in special cemeteries, where the shamans have to be invited to keep them quiet. They like to live in lonely spots and empty ruined houses, and have to be fed, because when they become hungry they are dangerous.

However, all the distinctions concerning the three souls, based on observed facts and customs, do not bother the average Monguors. They do not care for the nature of these three souls, how long they live, when they will vanish—all they know is that they leave the body at death. However, they are accustomed to feed the souls of three generations. They do not care to which, among the three souls, offerings are made at the time of the spring rites performed by the shaman, or at the time of the cult of the family deity, or on their own graves a few days before the worshipping of the ancestor of the clan. Even the lama or shaman, calling back the soul of a sick man, calls all three of them back.

CEMETERIES

Since the submission of the Monguors to the Ming 175
dynasty (in 1368), the chief of each of the groups, re- 764
ceiving the title and duty of T'u-ssu, became the ancestor-founder of his group. Their pictures then began to occupy the center of the new ancestral hall. The family register began with their name, and their grave became the head mound, which today is seen in all the old cemeteries where the yearly worship of the ancestors is held. T'u-ssu never have been cremated.[24]

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[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos, op. cit.*, 130. Louis M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes Mongols*, 211, Genbloux, Duculot, 1947.

[24] Schram, Part I: 59–70. [p. 142(A)]

175 764 On the death of the first T'u-ssu his eldest son succeeded, and the others became the founders of Junior "houses." Some of them immediately built their own cemetery, and others later. When cemeteries had no more room, some branches of noble families again built new cemeteries, and so on. The richest among the commoners followed the example set by the nobles, and buried the remains of the bones, after cremation, in their own cemetery. Many ceased to practice cremation. The Chinese enrolled in the clans had always buried their dead in their cemeteries, and now many Monguors have their own cemeteries. The poor among them bury the bones remaining after cremation in a corner of their fields, or in a lonely spot. Three days before the official ancestor worship in April, each group honors its dead in its own cemetery, according to the usual rite, with prostrations, libations, offerings, and a sacrificial meal. It is on that day that the bones remaining after cremation of the persons of their family who died during the year are buried in their cemeteries, and the names of the deceased are entered in the family register.

What happened to the dead of the Monguors during the Yüan period (1280–1368) is not at present known. Some people say that the dead were buried in lonely places, that cemeteries did not exist, and no further offerings were made for the dead, after burial. Later, during the Ming, only two clans, the Ch'i and the Lu, built inside their mansion garden a big mound with a spacious room where the coffins of the later T'u-ssu are conserved.[25]

764 The whole clan of the Li T'u-ssu never bury their dead in the third and the eighth months; these months are said to be fateful for them on account of Lu Men-cheng. I never could get an explanation either of this fact or of Lu Men-cheng.

DIFFERENT MODES OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

The enrollment of Chinese in the clans, the examples set by the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of the houses, the impact of the Chinese culture from which the Monguors became less and less insulated, and also the fact that cremation bears a tinge of dishonor among the Chinese (because it is only used for those who have caused harm to the family) led many Monguors to resort early to the burying of the dead. According to many Monguors, cremation had been introduced by the lamas, because it was a lucrative rite for them. Since in nearly every family there were lamas, the rite easily spread. However, according to other Monguors, incineration provides more benefits for the souls, while burying bears a tinge of dishonor. I was told of a Monguor woman [766] who had abandoned her husband in order to live with another man in Hung nai Valley, the man died and she

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[25] However, as will be recorded in Part III, the Lu clan, according to its family chronicle, had an ancestral cemetery in Hsi Ta-t'ung during the Yüan period. [p.142(B)]

thereupon swallowed opium and also died. Because 764
this case had involved the village and caused a lot of [766]
trouble, the chief of the village, with the maternal uncles, decided that they were unworthy to be cremated and buried them in the same pit. In Part I, other similar cases have been recorded.

The old Turco-Mongols buried their dead;[26] the old [171]
Hsiung-nu buried their dead also, as did the Hsien-pi.[27] The Ch'itan did not bury the corpses, but placed them in trees for three years, and then removed the bones and buried them.[28] This custom is widely distributed in northern Eurasia from the Tungus to the Lapps.

Monguors follow the Chinese custom in disposing of children who have died during the first month of age. They burn them and bury them in the k'ang, for it is said to be harmful to bring such corpses out of the room. Children of less than ten years of age are enveloped in straw and thrown in a lonely spot and disposed of by dogs and rapacious animals. Children who die under fifteen years of age are usually cremated without any ceremony, and their bones are not cared for. Young people under twenty years of age, dying in the morning, are cremated at evening; those who die at night are cermated in the early morning. Unmarried youngsters are cremated without any ceremony, and prayers are not said for them; their bones are collected after the cremation and buried in the abode of the wicked people. In the Ordos these dead are supposed to become vampires and to cause many deaths.[29]

In the case of married people dying without children, [766]
the maternal uncle is invited, a lama says some prayers, the harmful souls are driven out of the home, and cremation is without ceremony. Their bones are buried in the same terrible abode. However, in case both are aged, prayers are said for several days. After cremation the bones are collected and buried in the family cemetery, at the request of the maternal uncle. According to the Monguors, the aged dead are no longer abandoned in valleys, on account of the density of the population, and the custom of cutting the dead into pieces to feed the vultures has never been practised.

DEATH

When a Monguor is dying, the women of the family, 763
from the roof of the house, call on his spirit not to abandon them, crying that they are preparing for it a delicious dish, apologizing for their shortcomings, and with tears and sighs giving assurance of their love, in a most pathetic way. If a child is dying, women on the roof cry and call his name, wave his best clothes and pretend that cookies and candies are waiting for him. This is an age-old custom practiced in China from the

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[26] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 120-126. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars,* 86.

[27] Grousset, *op. cit.,* 15-86, 104.

[28] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.,* 204.

[29] Van Oost, *op. cit.,* 126.

[p. 143(A)]

earliest times.[30] If the sick man has a painful agony, 763 lamas are invited to pray for a fast departure or revival, according to the fate fixed for him; they beat drums and ring bells, around the sick man, making a terrible noise, and finally they help him to confide in Buddha. After the last breath has been drawn, they pull some hair out of the top of the head in order that his souls may escape through the bregmatic fontanelle. When death is approaching, his face and hands are washed, and he is shaved. Some Monguors undress him completely; others put his best clothes on him. It is said that in former times all the dying were undressed. In China it is a capital sin for a son to let his parents die without having dressed them in their best clothes. The Mongols, however, not only undress the dying person but bring him into the courtyard, for nobody is allowed to die in the home.[31]

Immediately after death, all the jewels are removed, 764 the hair unplaited, and some butter and tea leaves put into the mouth. Some Monguors add a "pill of immortality," bought in the Chinese pharmacies or in the lamaseries; some are fond of adding a precious stone or a piece of silver, as the Chinese used to do. The knees of the dead are drawn up under the chin, the hands placed on the chest and bound with a hemp rope, and a piece of white cloth is placed on the shoulders. Often the corpse is put into a sack of white cloth, and a gown and a scarf put upon it. Much has been written concerning the position of the dead, and many contradictory explanations offered by lamas, shamans, and laymen. A piece of yellow cloth is put on the shoulders of those who had become lay-monks or lay-nuns and burned with them. At that time most of the Monguors, old and young, who during their lifetime had not performed the rite to become a lay-monk, invite a lama who pours water on a mirror in which is reflected the face of the deceased, thus making him a lay monk.

The toilet is made by members of the deceased's own generation, except that sons care for their parents. During the laying out of the dead, the women start the lamentations on the roof, in the courtyard, or at the gate, so that the whole village knows of the death. A coffin is made by the carpenter, large enough to contain the corpse in a squatting position; it will be more or less elaborately decorated, according to the wealth of the family and the line of generation of the deceased. In the coffin is also placed a dough roll, according to the Chinese custom, for which contradictory Taoist explanations are given. A small coffin is prepared for the bones collected after the cremation. The corpse is put in the coffin as soon as it is ready, before which is placed a small table with twelve rolls and a lamp. Paper is burned, and at every meal a cup, with the same meal prepared for the family, is put before the deceased. Sons and relatives relieve each other day and night to keep watch, in order that rats and cats may not spoil the corpse, so say the Monguors. All the neighbors offer 764 their services in order to help carry on the funeral activities, for during the mourning period the members of the family are not allowed to leave their home or to enter the homes of other people, even temples and lamaseries. The whole family of the deceased is tabu.

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[30] Couvreur, *Li-ki*, 1: 85–181, Ho-Kien-fu, 1927.

[31] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 635. Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

A capable master of ceremonies is invited to direct the activities of the entire funeral. He starts by inviting lamas, usually of the Red Sect, to indicate the place propitious for the cremation. The incineration of a corpse in the wrong place might seal the fate of a whole family, for, according to the philosophy of the Monguors, the soil belongs to the god of the village, who has to be recognized, and from whom a piece of land must be bought in order to enact this rite peacefully. On a place chosen by the staff-spirit of the lama, the lama spreads a brand new felt, upon which he stretches a piece of red cotton eight feet long. Then, squatting on the felt, he offers incense and throws blessed spelt, reciting texts, ringing bells, and beating the drum. In the meantime, the attendants throw copper coins one after another on the felt. The spot is supposed to be bought, the bargain concluded, and paid for on the nail. The lama arises and announces ceremoniously that the god approves the transaction and will protect the family, averting from them any harm on account of the cremation. He fixes four arrows at the four corner of the spot to indicate its limits, and enjoins the attendants to start the building of an oven.

Lamas of the Yellow Sect, more ritualistic than those of the Red Sect, indulge in designing mandalas for which each of them advances his own peculiar explanation.

Monguors never build an oven without having recognized the god-owner of the spot, but many Monguors prefer to invite a Taoist priest or a Chinese geomancer to perform the rite, which is enacted in nearly the same way by them.[22]

Then the master of ceremonies determines, with a lama of the Red Sect, the day propitious for the cremation. He invites Red or Yellow lamas to come to say prayers, together with the Living Buddha who will perform the cremation and will arrive the evening before the ceremony. The rite is performed usually on the seventh day after the death, very rarely on the twenty-first or the forty-ninth day. The master of ceremonies, at the time he invites the lamas, offers a gift to the lamasery in order that the community of lamas will say the prayers intended to lead the soul straight to paradise, and to help it avoid all kinds of troubles and vampires on this journey.

According to old Monguors, the most important duty [604] of a master of ceremonies is to go himself to invite the maternal uncle in order to determine with him, in private, the amount of alms to be given to the lamas, and in order to know beforehand at what point he will lower his fantastic claims on the day of the funeral. The discussion finished, the traditional cup of wine is poured. 764 [604]

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[22] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130; Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 212.

[p. 144(A)]

The married daughters with their husbands, if they were not present at the death of the father, arrive as soon as possible with the traditional offering of seven big rolls, each one foot in diameter (which must be burned before the deceased), a sheep, paper and incense sticks, and two strings of copper cash. The offerings are not the same in all villages and poor people present smaller rolls and a hen.

GUESTS AND THE MATERNAL UNCLE

764 604 The day before the cremation, all the relatives and friends arrive with the traditional twelve steamed rolls and two-hundred copper coins; they prostrate themselves three times, burning paper and incense sticks before the coffin, called the "sedan chair." All await the arrival of the maternal uncle, who goes directly to prostrate himself and burn paper before the coffin, while the women start with the lamentations. The same rite is observed by the Chinese.[38] Some women have a real knack of touching the deepest feelings of those assembled. Many times I listened to these real masterpieces of elegies: "Father, why did you leave us? We love you so much. Father, Father, did we offend you? Forgive us, we love you so much. Mother cries day and night; she does not eat any more. She loves you so much. Father, come back, for mother's sake, lest she die. Father, who will care for us now, care for mother, and for baby brother, etc., we miss you so much. Who will sow the fields and tend the animals, we do not know all these things. Father, why did you leave us? How will we live any more, you were so good to us when we were sick, etc." All these apostrophes were mixed with tears and heavy sighing. Certainly the origin of the elegiac style is to be sought in similar circumstances.

In the presence of the whole assembly, the pretended discussion concerning the alms begins between the maternal uncle and the master of ceremonies. Assurance is given of the love of the family for the deceased, and of the care taken of him during his sickness. Finally permission is given for the cremation. Wine is poured, and the whole family kneels and thanks the maternal uncle. The master of ceremonies offers him, as keepsake and remembrance, a nice piece of woolen felt, some of the best clothes of the deceased, and some pieces of his jewelry. However, the maternal uncle must by custom refuse the gifts. The maternal uncle goes, followed by the whole assembly, to prostrate himself before the corpse. The dinner follows, in the open courtyard, after which the whole group prays Om Mani.

764 Every evening at dusk, beginning on the day of the death, the villagers, with their children, come to say

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[38] Johannes Ternay, Familienjustiz in Trauerhaus, Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 1: 103 *sqq.*, 1952.

[p. 144(B)]

Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, 764 during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that [775] the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse, beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the [184 cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other [562] women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go 431] back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living 764 Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana [792] Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse.

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[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.

[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42.

[p.145 A]]

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself 764 and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do 768 not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items.[38] The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side.

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have 764 tended the oven and closed the four openings. After 765 three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every [784] year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed

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[38] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

[p. 145 (B)]

the great mourning period is over, and the whole group 764
prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, 765
who will receive twelve rolls.

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited,
a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of [604
the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and 792]
some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus.

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period 765
the "black period." A son born after the death of his father is still called a "black son." The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted.

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning 765
color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the 171
nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43]

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. 765
The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not

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[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.

[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.

[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.

[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 191.

[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.

[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.

[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130.

[p. 146(A)]

wear the mourning dress for members of a lower generation, nor the husband for his wife, and *vice versa*. 765

The great mourning begins at the moment of death and ends after the burying of the small coffin. During these days, it is not permitted to wash face and hands, comb the hair, shave, or leave the courtyard.

It is noteworthy that the Koryaks in Siberia put the clothes on the deceased inside out,[44] and so do the Tibetans.[45] The T'u-yü-hun had a funeral procession when burying the dead, but mourning clothes were removed when the ceremony was over.[46]

After the great mourning, the small mourning starts. Men remove the red fringes from the ceremonial hat. They change the more elaborate girdle for a simple black one, and the embroidered tobacco pouch for an unadorned black one. Women do not wear new clothes; they put aside red and green vestments, using black or dark blue garments instead. However, the piece of blue cloth which covers their headdress is changed to a white one; the red fringes on the headdress are removed and strips of black cloth take their place. Ear and finger rings and all jewelry are prohibited. They are forbidden to attend any festivities, to enter temples or monasteries.

Monguors, mourning their grandparents, wear the mourning dress for a year—in some places, however, only for one-hundred days. Brothers mourn their elder brother only forty-nine days. At that time a lama is invited to say some prayers for one or three days. The entire family goes to the tumulus to burn paper and incense sticks, to offer rolls and a leg of mutton, and to make libations, and prostrate themselves. The women lament, and the small mourning period is over.[47]

It is said that in former times all the Monguors had to follow the mourning rite for one-hundred days upon the death of their T'u-ssu or his lady. At present only [622]
the officials of the T'u-ssu observe this rite.[48]

OMINOUS DEATHS AND THE ABODES OF EVIL SPIRITS

WOMEN WHO DIE IN CHILDBIRTH

A woman who dies in childbirth is said to be 766
drowned in a lake of blood. It is a very bad omen for the family. Even a person dying in the courtyard during childbirth is seriously feared after death, and the souls have to be driven away more elaborately. A lama of the Red Sect is invited, and quite often a shaman, because they are more proficient in magic. The

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[44] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, *op. cit.*, 3: 421.

[45] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens au Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 130.

[46] Parker, *op. cit.*, 109.

[47] Serruys, Pei-lou-fong-sou, *Monumenta Serica*, 10: 295, 1945. Among the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600, the mourning period lasted only for seven days. It consisted for the women in not wearing the headdress called Ku-Ku; for the men in removing the button from the hat.

[48] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130–131, notes the elaborate mourning rites and prescriptions at present still used by the Mongols of the Ordos.

[p 146(B)]

lama says special prayers, drives away the ominous souls, makes *tormas* and a straw manikin, which is pierced with daggers, set on fire, and pulled burning out of the courtyard. The cremation is performed without ceremonies, the woman is carried away in the sedan-chair through a hole pierced in the wall of the courtyard, and the bones are buried in the abode of the evil spirits. The maternal uncle attends the rite; there is no dinner and no Om Mani prayers are said at night. The Mongols of the Ordos do not permit the deceased to be carried through the gate of the courtyard.[49] Neither do the nomads of Siberia.[50]

However, the Monguors prefer to invite at such times a Taoist priest, because his rite seems more efficient. He plants a post in the courtyard on top of which is the flag of the souls, *Hun-fan*. A rope leading from the top of the post is attached to the sedan chair in which the deceased woman has been placed in a squatting position. A rooster's head is cut off, and its blood gathered in a pot. The praying Taoist throws into the blood 360 coins, one after another, which the kneeling husband collects, one after another, each time calling the name of his wife. When the rite is finished the souls are supposed to be saved from the blood lake. Then follows the driving away of the souls, the carrying through the wall, the cremation performed by themselves and the burying of the bones in the abode of the wicked people.

SUICIDES

In Part I: 91 sqq., of this study the difficulties of obtaining permission for the incineration of a person who committed suicide have been described. After the permission has been obtained the shaman drives away the souls and the deceased is carried in the sedan-chair to the crematory. The collected bones are never buried in the family cemetery, but in the abode for ominous people, because it is said that these souls would harm the dead of the family buried next to them, and incite them to help wreak their vengeance.

In such ominous places are buried the bones of unmarried youngsters and adults who hated their family, thieves, murderers, persons who died from plague, people blind in both eyes, lame in both legs, deaf mutes. Every village has one or two places reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They are situated outside the village and after sunset nobody dares to pass through such places. The souls of young women who suffered maltreatment from mothers or sisters-in-law gather in these places to wait for an opportunity to pay off an old grudge; souls of people who suffered injustices wait there to wreak vengeance.

Usually the shaman—very very seldom a Red lama—is invited to drive away and chastise these evil doers.

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[49] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos, op. cit.*, 129.

[50] Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Sibirischen Völkern*, 25.

766 Several times a year youngsters go with the shaman to this place at night, and offer a goat to these dangerous souls, propitiating them in order that they may be peaceful. Often on a dark night youngsters with burning torches and whips go to these places. They throw down the head of a goat, and after making noises, throw away their torches and, in deep silence, run home swiftly along another way, in order to avoid being pursued by the souls, and to cheat them. This happens when a member of the family or an animal is taken ill and the possibility exists that the ailment is caused by such souls.

[754] Black shamans, when board or lodging is refused them, blow their horn made from a human thigh bone in the direction of these places, calling up all these souls and spirits and ordering them to harm the village. The Monguors are scared to death of such vengeance, especially the vengeance of a young woman who has committed suicide. It is said that the souls of such women are not at peace until they have induced another woman to commit suicide. It is also said that souls of teenagers, for whom prayers have not been said, incite women to commit suicide.

If a suicide occurs, the chief of the village, on behalf of the whole village, invites the shaman, or often three of them, to prevent these additional calamities. For seven days the shamans go at night to the sinister cemetery and dwell there until the morning, beating drums and dancing. They call up these evil souls, talk with them the whole night, flatter, cajole, and comfort them, trying to pursuade them to change their avenging minds, and to exchange their ill dispositions for good ones. They snap their whips, and manipulate their knives to frighten them, and finally give them a goat every night, that they may have a good meal and a good time. When the meal is supposed to be finished, the shamans send the spirits back and return to the village.

This custom reveals a thoroughly shamanistic frame of mind, which fears the souls of the dead and imputes to the dead most of the mischiefs and misfortunes which overcome the family; only the shaman can master these foes of the Monguor society.

BURYING OF THE DEAD

764 [604] More and more, the Monguors are adopting the custom of burying their deceased instead of cremating them. When the maternal uncle arrives, the deceased has already been put into a Chinese coffin. Before dying, the sick are washed, shaved, and dressed. Men wear an odd number of garments: three pairs of trousers, socks, three gowns, coats, even furs; women wear two sets, and always the traditional skirt of the Monguors which they never wore, but despised during their whole life, for it is said to be impossible to meet the ancestors without the traditional skirt. Some tea and butter are still put in the mouth (a souvenir of their nomadic origin) along with a "pill of longevity," silver,

[p. 147(B)]

and jade. A pillow is placed under the head, which is 764 covered with a sheet of white paper and a piece of black cloth. The black cloth is a souvenir of former times, because the Chinese use a piece of red cloth.

A Taoist priest fixes the day for the burial. The master of ceremonies invites the maternal uncle (with [604] the same discussion as at the incineration ceremonies). Finally, permission is granted for the burial, and the sons and grandsons of the deceased kneel before the maternal uncle, presenting the hammer and the wedges to fasten the cover of the coffin. The maternal uncle fastens one wedge, and allows the others to finish the job. Some among them still practice the Om Mani rite at night. The offering of the members of the family are still the Monguor offerings, as well as the lamentations. The next day the men follow the coffin on foot to the cemetery, and the women, crying and lamenting, sit on carts. On the third day there follows the ceremony of building the tumulus according to the Monguor custom.

It is not unusual that, at the request of the maternal uncle, some lamas are invited to say prayers at the same time with the Taoist priests. In that case, the lamas say their prayers in a private room next to that of the Taoist priests, since neither cares for the other.

CONFUCIANIST BURIAL OF MONGUORS

Some, among the rich and more educated Monguors, 795 follow the Confucianist rite of putting the coffin in the 766 courtyard with a red curtain hanging before it. The members of the family kneel before the coffin and a Chinese literatus, wearing a large red satin scarf on his shoulders, makes the sons kneel in the first row. While the musicians play a soft funeral tune, he reads the panegyric for the deceased whom he proposes as a model for the sons. He then places the panegyric before the coffin; next he goes to the row of daughters and then the row of grandchildren, and each time a new piece is read and deposited before the coffin.

The whole group then follows him in a silent procession to the kitchen, where each takes a cup of noodles and deposits it before the coffin, bowing and prostrating. He leads the whole group in procession behind the curtain. The literatus invites the deceased to take his meal. The whole group coughs one delicate cough, and disappears, tiptoeing into the room, in order not to disturb the deceased while dining. The literatus burns the panegyrics and retires.

The literatus, with some Taoist priests, goes to the nearest temple. Men follow him on foot while women sit on the carts and lament. He enters the temple with the priests only, reads a new panegyric, and makes the announcement of the death to the spirit and bows; then the group returns. It is amazing to see how these rude Monguors can behave with courtesy, like people "to the manner born," and how much they like the rite. Burial follows the next day. [p. 148(A)]

INCINERATION OF LAMAS

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Lamas of the Yellow Sect are cremated after death. Often lamas of the Red Sect invite those of the Yellow Sect to perform the rite for them, but seldom do lamas of the Yellow Sect invite those of the Red Sect for the same purpose. Lamas are lowered into the crematory oven, while laymen are put into the oven through one of its side openings. Their bones are collected on the third day and spread on the mountain. The bones of the minor Living Buddhas are collected after incineration and put in a *chorten* built for this purpose. The corpses of the Hutukhtus usually are not cremated but are placed in salt, in a squatting, crosslegged position. The dried mummy decked out in its best clothes and a mitre with the five Dhyana Buddha images is enclosed in a chorten. But if they are incinerated, their bones and ashes are pounded and enclosed in a small silver chorten exposed in the temple.

At the death of the Lu chia Living Buddha, the Fa t'ai of the monastery of T'ien T'ang was invited to perform the cremation rites. For forty-nine days prayers were said at the lamasery. The tribes subject to the lamasery offered alms, and a delegation of each tribe attended the dinner. The intendancy sent alms to nine of the most important monasteries in order to have them say prayers and to entertain their communities. For forty-nine days the lamas of the lamasery of the deceased living Buddha were not allowed to ride a horse or to leave the monastery.

FUNERAL OF THE SHAMANS

Shamans are always buried in their own fields, in Chinese coffins. The shaman is dressed in his best ceremonial costume, gown, long flowery coat, and the crown of the Wu-tao-shen on his head. His drum, sword, dagger, whip, and staff are put into the coffin and buried with him. Chinese inscriptions with cabalistic signs are pasted on the coffin.

The shamans come from all over the country to perform their rites, along with all the apprentices who studied their art with the deceased. On the first day his courtyard is cleaned, paper flags are hung, and Chinese inscriptions with cabalistic designs are pasted on the doors. At night, in a group, they recite Chinese texts for a long time, using a written book of their own; they beat drums and dance around the coffin, which has been placed in the courtyard. On the second day five tables are superimposed one above the other the chief shaman, in full attire, climbs on the uppermost table and dances on it, in time with the beating of the drums. He swings two paper flags held in his hands, while the other shamans perform the most wild evolutions around the coffin. At night hundreds of lamps are lit in the courtyard and the shamans beat drums, dance, and recite texts.

In the early morning of the third day the coffin is

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carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at 766 a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA "HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS"

Several times in the present study there has been 789 noted the stereotype formula, "Heaven and all the 772 spirits," used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying *"Tiengere uluon purgan"* meaning "Heaven and all the spirits," and even *"Sge Tiengere uluon purgan,"* that is "Great Heaven and all the spirits."

Because "Heaven" is always invoked in conjunction 772 with "all the spirits," it seems obvious that Heaven is 776 considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material sky.[1]

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or 776 purgan.[2] The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wu tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth, Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. 776 Although they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that *"uluon purgan"* means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities.

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[1] Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Bd.* X in *Anthropos,* **48**: 328, 1953, notes: "Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. . . . I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God." He adds: "No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries," its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was "Deus" or "God." Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes wahrend der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* **48**: 623, 1953, notes: "Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungnamen Gott wurde. . . . Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen night vor." (The word *Purgan,* it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan.*)

[2] Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 17: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954.

Because in the formula *"Tiengere,"* often *"Sge Tiengere,"* "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each [823] of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, *"Uluon purgan."*

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking 771 prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit 776 of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be.

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[8]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the 772 spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to [782] offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are

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[8] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217. [p. 149 (B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that 772
during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by 782
the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored
by the villagers so that all of them may extend their
protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu 776
T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time 428
of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having 776
had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go 466
to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it."

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know 776
all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil 771
spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p 150(A)]

771 Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle.

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

772 The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven."

772 788 776 One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help.

772 776 What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten [753] with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success

in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian 772
of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices 776
perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When
drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate
the dragon god who cares for rain. They never en-
visage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of
Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they
make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer
the department in question, and try to conciliate him
by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven
and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout
Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to
punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray
for some days. However, such an act of religion is
"never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving 796
rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by 776
the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of
the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is
made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer
made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped
"all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every
family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately,
makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and
all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving
rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven
alone. The rite is the more controversial because, ex-
cept in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers
said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This excep-
tional rite appears to have been borrowed from the [177]
Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining
exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural econ-
omy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still per- 796
sists among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), 782
may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the
harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by
the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite
of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads,
is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the
blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the
first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad
"harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus cor-
responds to the agricultural rite after the autumn
harvest, when the crops have been carried to the thresh-
ing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed
by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year
(usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian
deity of the village, and is performed within the temple
of the village and also in the living room of each family,
before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and
in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn
livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven,
nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

and this is also true among the Mongols[4] and the 796
Buriats.[5] If, then, the rite of the sacred animal, which 782
is specifically and characteristically an ancient nomad rite, is never directed to Heaven, one would not expect the harvest rite, if it were simply a later substitute for the rite of the sacred animal, to be directed to Heaven; but since this rite, uniquely and exceptionally among the Monguors, is in fact directed to Heaven, there is strong reason to infer that the harvest rite of the Monguors is a borrowing of the identical harvest rite of the Chinese of the Hsining region.

In all other circumstances, the "spirit of Heaven" is 796
honored in conjunction with "all the spirits" by means of a single rite performed for them in a group, and by means of the same offering. At the morning Wei-sang, made by the head of the family, a cry is uttered, "Heaven and all the spirits" (some Monguors add the name of the guardian deity of the family), and three prostrations are made for all of them, while the offering burns. On New Year's eve, the chief and elders of the village, after lighting a big fire in the temple yard, prostrate themselves three times for the group "Heaven and all the spirits."

In every family, on New Year's eve, a big fire is lit and the same rite performed. During the celebration of a sixtieth birthday a fire is lit in the courtyard and the hero of the feast performs this same rite. The last rite, in order to be preserved from hail, is performed by all the villagers on top of the highest mountain of the village, where all the statues of the temple are carried and a big Wei-sang performed, and there the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits" is implored. At [585]
marriages, the new couple prostrate themselves before a big fire in the courtyard, for "Heaven and all the spirits" in keeping with the command of the master of ceremonies.[6]

Two exceptions are to be recalled, which have already 776
been noted, concerning the rite on the Obo and the offering of a sheep to the guardian deity of the family. On these occasions the "spirit of Heaven" receives its part of the offer first, followed immediately by an identical offering for "all the spirits."

These two facts and that of the thanksgiving rite in the temple, to be sure, give evidence for the prominence of "Heaven" and apparently manifest its honorary position among the Monguors. Surely they help the Monguors remember this honorary prominence every time the formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," is used.

It is noteworthy that Heaven and all the spirits are always honored in the open air, in courtyards, on top of a roof, or on top of a mountain, never inside a temple or a living room. In old China, "all the spirits" were honored in the open air temples being built only for 776 souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

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[4] See above, p. 119; also Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 90.

[5] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 240.

[6] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou*, 71, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932. The same rite is recorded among the Mongols, by Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 74, and among the Buriats, *ibid.*, 301.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community 241 is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 796 blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not 622 to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775 and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 772 Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776 guors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 171 vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

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[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

[p. 152 (A)]

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though Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always preserved their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods."[9] In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688–333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.[10] It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats.

> In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.[11]

[777]
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In concluding this section it is appropriate to remember that it is a fact that the true concept of a creation *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity.

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the "spirit of Heaven," it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the "spirit of Heaven."

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC–MONGOLS

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It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol[12] tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, recognized "Heaven" as enjoying a position of prominence among the gods and spirits they worshipped. Did this recognition, however, entail an intensive cult of "Heaven" among these Altaic tribes, or was this prominence only one of purely honorary dimension, as among the Monguors? A substantial answer to this question seems to be the synthesis encountered in the study by W. Schmidt concerning the subject among the Turkic-Mongol tribes. In an account from the "oldest available texts," he concludes his study about the Hiungnu (the oldest Turkic group) by saying, "We are still uncertain whether the being called 'Heaven' is, in the strict sense of the word, the 'Highest Being'; and finally, the position and relation of this being toward the other higher beings are not explained."[13]

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[9] *Ibid.*, 698.

[10] Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

[11] Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

[12] René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, 1re phase*, 1–3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term "Turk" used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term "Mongols" as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C to second century A.D.), and T'opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch'i-tan (who occupied North China 907–1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.; T'opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination

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Concerning the problem of the offerings he remarks, "The position of the other higher beings is more prominent than that of the being called 'Heaven'."[14] In the texts, the formula, "Heaven and deities" is used by the old Turks, and beside it there is also the formula, "Ancestors, Heaven and Earth, Spirits and Deities," and several times "Heaven" alone.[15] According to these texts, the religious notions of the old Hiungnu seem to have been at least as confused as those of the Monguors of today.

The conclusion of W. Schmidt about the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the T'u-kiue (A.D. 551–800), another Turkic group, is that the texts fail to make clear that the being called "Heaven" by the T'u-kiue is the "highest being" in the strict sense of the word, but their content seems to hint at the fact that

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in North China with the Hsienpi, while the Juan-Juan Mongols succeeded in settling in the Gobi region. During the sixth century the "Turks" dominated in Mongolia and west Turkestan; and in the eighth century the Uigur (Turks) and in the ninth the Kirgiz (Turks). From 924 on, Mongol and Turkic tribes struggled for the domination of Mongolia until the thirteenth century, when the Mongols triumphed under Chingis Khan. During all these centuries the conquerors agglomerated, collecting into their groups the defeated tribes. The empires of the steppe were composites. Pastoralism and nomadism more than identity of language held the tribes together. Hence the confusion and amalgamation in the field of religion, cult, and customs. (While the distinction between proto Turkic-Mongol tribes is often based on a few controversial linguistic data, authors do not always agree upon the classification of some tribes into one or another of the two groups; for instance the Hsienpi and Ch'i-tan. Among the She-wei a tribe called Meng-wu (seventh–ninth century) is noted, which would be the first mention of the name of the Mongols.)

[13] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9: 20. "So dass wir auch noch in Ungewissen bleiben, ob das Himmels-wesen ein volles Höchstes Wesen ist. Schliesslich bleibt auch sein Erhaltnis zu den übrigen höheren Wesen ungeklärt."

[14] *Ibid.*, 19. "Das Opfer ist etwas reichlicher bezeugt, und hier treten auch die übrigen höheren Wesen mehr in den Vordergrund, sogar stärker als das Himmelswesen."

[15] *Ibid.*, 13. "Dass der Grosskhan das Opfer darbrachte 'seinen Ahnen, dem Himmel und der Erde, den Geistern und Göttern' . . . ! Er opferte den Himmel und den Göttern! . . ." B. 10: "das var vom Himmel verfügt . . . der Himmel hat dich geschickt. . . . Der Himmel erzürnte sich . . . wenn der Himmel nicht seine Pläne mit dem Hiung nu hatte. . . ."

such a notion existed in their minds.[16] His conclusions 776
relating to the religious notions concerning "Heaven" 171
among the Uigurs (745) who overthrew the T'u-kiue realm and the majority of whom were converted to Manicheism, are: "Since we have only a few fragmentary facts about their old religion it is impossible to get a clear idea about it."[17] This interesting study by Schmidt affords all the data available concerning the cult of "Heaven" among the old Turkic groups, which seems to have been as confused in former times as today among the Monguors.

It would be interesting to read the syntheses of Schmidt concerning the corresponding cult among the proto-Mongols. However, only a study concerning the Altai Tatars is provided, based on data collected by Russian ethnologists since the latter half of the eighteenth century, which reflects very confused notions existing at that time.[18]

However, in the *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* Wittfogel and Feng provide the most instructive material concerning the tribal religion of the Ch'i-tan, tribes belonging to the Mongol stock, living just before the time of Chingis (1162–1227).

> Their pantheon includes gods of Heaven, Earth, and Sun, of the *Mu-yeh* and of the Black Mountains, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, the gods of war and of metal, personified deities, supernatural powers thought to be immanent in trees, mountains, etc., an endless legion of souls of the dead, spirits of the two tribal ancestors appealed to at the temple seats; the souls of the general populace, which were protected by the gods of the Black Mountain. No explicit descriptions are encountered of the thereafter, but the funeral offers seem to imply a life after death with definite pastoral and military features. Heaven and Earth were usually appealed to together. Friendly supernatural powers had to ward off the danger of the evil ones.[19]
>
> Solemn announcements were made to Heaven, Earth and the Sun, sometimes with the aid of fire, or from the top of a mountain. Twice a year the two tribal ancestors were officially honored by sacrifices of horses or oxen. Sacrifices of horses, oxen, sheep or geese were performed to win the favor of the gods, and on the tenth month were enacted for the spirits of all the dead.[20]
>
> Tribal priests or shamans exercised political and religious power, non-official Wu had become guardians of a subsidiary religion.[21]

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[16] Ibid., 39, "So fehlet also noch viel, dass das Himmelswesen der T'u-kiue Religion als ein wirkliches und volles Höchstes Wesen erscheine, aber die für uns jetzt nur schwach ansetzenden spärlichen Linien seiner Charakterisierung scheinen in ihrer Verlängerung all auf ein solches Wesen hinaus zu laufen."

[17] *Ibid.*, 40, "Bei dieser verwirrten Geschichte seines stark gemischten Volkes, das dann so bald schon eine ganz andere Religion annahm, wird es verständlich, dass wir von ihrer alten Religion nur spärliche und fragmentarische Nachrichten besitzen aus denen man unmöglich ein irgendwie klares Gesamtbild gewinnen kann."

[18] *Ibid.* **9**: 71.

[19] K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, reprint from the *Review of Religion*, May, 1948: 351.

[20] *Ibid.*, 358.

[21] *Ibid.*, 359.

[p. 153(B)]

IMPACT OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

In dealing with these subjects, serious account must 175
be taken of the diffusion of Buddhism. At the be- 787
ginning of our era, in A.D. 148 the first translators of Buddhist scriptures arrived in Liang Chou from the oases of Turkistan, and Liang Chou became the center of Buddhist activities (Chapter II). Among the Turkic T'opa Wei people, Buddhism was diffused on a large scale. From 399 to 557 they occupied northern China and extended their power as far as the Altai. In 538, in their two provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung alone, are recorded thirty thousand temples and two million adherents to Buddhism.[22] The Turkic-Mongol tribes, settling or living as nomads along the western frontier of China from Turkistan to Manchuria, must have come in contact with Buddhism and felt its impact in different ways. The Chi'tan (of Mongol origin) who occupied northern China (907–1125) and extended their power over Inner and Outer Mongolia, professed Buddhism to the extent that in 942 the number of monks and nuns in Chih-li and Shan-tung swelled to 50,000 and in 1078, 360,000 are mentioned.[23]

However, from the seventh century on, new religious notions were also diffused in Central Asia among the nomadic tribes. In 762 the Uigurs had embraced Manicheism, and Nestorians were very numerous among them. The Kereits, a Turkic tribe living on Lake Baikal, were converted to Nestorianism in 1007. They were defeated by Chingis Khan, and submitted to him. The Öngüts, tribes of Shat'o origin who aided Chingis against the Chin in 1201, were Nestorians.[24] Around the end of the eleventh century Nestorian missionaries had already reached the Tatars living near the country which today is called Manchuria, because at least two of their chiefs bore Christian names, "Mark" and "John."[25] During the tenth and eleventh centuries many nomadic tribes in Central Asia were converted to Mohammedanism, among them the Qara-Khanides in 960, the Seljukides before 1043, and other Turkic tribes in 960 and 1043.[26]

IMPACT OF NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGOLS

The impact of these events must have been felt among 795
the peoples of Central Asia on a larger or smaller scale and in different ways. At any rate, Nestorianism af-

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[22] James R. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* **30**: 179, 1933. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1433.

[23] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 291–296. It was under the Liao dynasty that Buddhism spread to the vast eastern expanses of Inner Asia.

[24] K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, 63, N. Y., Macmillan, 1929.

[25] B. Louis Hambis, Deux noms chrétiens chez les Tatar au XIme siecle, *Journal Asiatique*, 1953: 475.

[26] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

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fected the imperial family of the founder of the new 795
Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to al- 175
liances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth 646
son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of 643
the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts 177
occupied important administrative posts in the new na- 797
tion. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai 643
and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

> Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into 797
> the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that 175
> of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the 643
> "Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

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[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

The White Banner was inhabited by the "guardian genius" 797
of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to 175
victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the "Everlasting 643
Blue Sky" had so ordained.[29]

In the same way "Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688–330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories."[30] In ancient China "Heaven" was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor's mandate.[31]

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. 175
The need to know the will of "Everlasting Blue Sky" 643
and of "the guardian spirits" was a constant stimulus 771
for communing with "shamans," sorcerers, and divinators.[32] "He believed Kokchu could ascend the 'Sky' and had powerful protectors among the genii."[33] "He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state's chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized."[34] "He was fond of Ye-lü Ch'ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer."[35] "Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people."[36] "He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the 'Everlasting Sky' and the 'guardian spirits' and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition."[37]

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was 771
not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,[38] notes:

> According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46–47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Mönke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as "the creator of the sky and earth" attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.[39]

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[29] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.

[30] Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.

[31] H. G. Creel, *Confucious the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.

[32] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.

[33] *Ibid.*, 82.

[34] *Ibid.*, 77.

[35] *Ibid.*, 105.

[36] *Ibid.*, 109.

[37] *Ibid.*, 167.

[38] *Anthropos*, **48**: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* **10**: 1952.

[39] Nicolaus Pallisen, Die alte Religon des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden, 1949.

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We have to take into consideration also the fact that 175
many of the historians of this Mongol period, such as 771
Rashid ed-Din (1302), Djouwayni (1260), and others, were Moslems, who might easily have been influenced by the tenets of their own religion in this matter, and have reflected these ideas in their writings.

Besides the very serious doubts concerning the authenticity of the texts, there arise problems of the value of these texts in explaining the cult of Heaven as it existed before Chingis and before the imperial family professed (?) or protected Nestorianism, and also the question of the real impact of Nestorianism inside the imperial family through cult and rites, and upon the bulk of tribes which are called Mongol. P. Pelliot states that "Nestorianism was the religion of most Turkic tribes and perhaps of a few genuine Mongols." [40]

It is common knowledge, corroborated by the testimony of travelers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[41] that the Mongols and Turks during the Yüan dynasty worshipped a host of spirits and Öngüts, and were as fervent addicts of shamanism as Chingis himself.

Professor Louis Hambis writes: "The Mongols at the time of Chingis did not honor a Supreme God, but they worshipped Heaven and Earth, and their formula for taking an oath started with an invocation to the god of heaven and to the deity of earth." [42]

René Grousset notes that: "When Chingis started with his campaign against the Naiman, he made solemn sacrifices to the Banner, in which the 'Sulde,' the protector spirits of his army, were supposed to reside." [43]

At present there exists the same confusion concerning the notion of Heaven among the Mongols of the Ordos as among the Monguors.[44] No wonder that after the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, which had long since become thoroughly Buddhist, Nestorianism almost completely disappeared from among them.[45]

NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGUORS

Among the Monguors and the Chinese of the region 775
of Hsining, I never encountered any facts pointing to the possibility that Nestorianism had been practiced in former times. Yet Marco Polo (born in Venice in 1254), during his long stay in Kan chou in 1274, must have made an excursion to Hsining with his father Nicolo and his Uncle Matteo. Among many minute details concerning Hsining he records: "The population

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[40] P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême Orient*, *op. cit.*, 643.

[41] A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 231, 232, Puaracchi, Firensie, 1929.

[42] Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 411, Leiden, Brill, 1951.

[43] Grousset, *Empire Mongol, 1re Phase*, *op. cit.*, 159.

[44] A Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, Peking, Catholic University, 1947.

[45] *Ibid.*, *Bull. Catholic University of Peking* 9, Nov. 1934; Ordosica; Les Erkut, descendants des Chrétiens médiévaux chez les Mongols Ordos.

[p. 155 (B)]

of the country consists chiefly of idolaters and some 175
Saracens, but there are some Christians also."[46] Because Marco Polo always noted very accurately the Nestorian churches he encountered on his way through Central Asia, and because he did not mention the existence of any Nestorian church in Hsining, it may be supposed that this Nestorian community must have been small, and probably consisted of some occasional traders.

Another fact led me to investigate the topic of 175
Nestorianism. According to Pelliot, tribes of Öngüts 795
(Shat'o) inhabited the Tenduc region, north of the great bend of the Yellow River. Some of these Öngüts migrated into south Kansu, in the region of Lin t'ab. They were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and transplanted into mid-Manchuria at the beginning of the twelfth century. They were Nestorians. An apparition in a dream of the Chin emperor T'ai tsung (1125–1161) having been explained by means of images honored by these Öngüts, they were liberated and located in Ch'ing chou, north of the Yellow River.[47]

According to Howorth, *History of the Mongols,* 1: 26, the Öngüts had moved there in the twelfth century from northern Mongolia. Rashid ed-Din explains that the Öngüts, being in the service of the Chin, had been appointed as wardens of the Great Wall.

The problem is, the region of Lin T'ao being contiguous with that of Hsining,[48] whether there was intermingling between the Shat'o of Lin T'ao and those of Hsining, and whether the Hsining Shat'o as a consequence, ever professed Nestorianism.

The second Shat'o dynasty, that of the Hou Chin, (936–947), was conquered by the Liao dynasty (907–1125) in 947, and its imperial family (175 persons), banished into Huang lung, north of Mukden (Manchuria). However its harem, eunuchs, and servants entered the service of the Liao emperor.[49] Then the emperor decided to enroll in his army the defeated Hou Chin troops, and to use them as wardens of the southern marches of his enlarged empire. Their families were to be moved into north Shansi as hostages, and the troops were to be granted furlough from the marches every year to visit Shansi.[50]

It seems doubtful whether these provisions were ever carried out. Ho kien, an Uigur, loyal and devoted servant of both Shat'o dynasties, governor of the Tsin, Chieh, and Ch'eng chou regions, and of the marches of southeast Kansu (contiguous to Lin T'ao), in 947, immediately after the defeat of his emperor, offered the places and the region he governed to the Lord of the Kingdom of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and pledged his al-

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[46] Yule-Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo* 1: 274.

[47] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient, 630; Henri Cordier, Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *op. cit.,* 56.

[48] Franke, *op. cit.* 5: 113.

[49] *Ibid.* 4: 55.

[50] *Ibid.* 4: 57, 58.

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legiance to him.[81] War broke out and finally a new 175
dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950. 795

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[82]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes 795
are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known 776
about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang- 771
chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence.

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. 795
In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no 776
notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men 775
would be rewarded for their merits or punished for 771
their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac-

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[81] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[82] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308-309.

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help 795
needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 776

However, they had populated the world with a host 775
of good and evil spirits on which they thought they 771
depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.)

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the 756
world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them 776
with the protection and benefits needed during their 771
life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed.

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the 775
existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the 771
terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists.

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[88]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submis- 614
sion to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly dis- 648
posed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin-

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[88] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 157 (A)]

ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. 614
They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of 648
China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corvées were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part I: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence 792
radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three 614
celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of 175
the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by 614
this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the 177
revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the 175
hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re-

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canted their origin. They still know pretty well that 614
their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two- 177
hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be 175
laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, inpoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese 177
became more intensive through commercial relations. 614
The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood [191]
and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one 771
hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu in- 614
stitution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were

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not Chinese and which held them close together. First 771
of all, stress is to be put on the old cult of the ancestors, 614
deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Turco-Mongol tribes. Among the Hsien-pi is already noted the "ox cart with the images or tables of the ancestors"; it is noted among the Ch'i-tan [1] and recorded among the Mongols in the thirteenth century.[2] Among the oldest Turco-Mongols, in the formulas of invocation of spirits, "Ancestors, Heaven and earth spirits, and deities" are included, "ancestors" enjoying the preeminency.[3] Chingis Khan became an important deity among the Mongols. No wonder that the cult of the ancestor of each of the Monguor clans is vital. A new cemetery was built for the founding ancestor, and an ancestor hall, the register of genealogies started with him, and his cult is performed yearly, accompanied by brilliant festivities at the clan diet. It is the big holiday of the whole clan. The accession of the new T'u-ssu is announced to the clan ancestor, whose blessings are asked for every year at the ceremony of the opening of the seal.[4] All the officials of the clan have to honor the ancestor at that time. These observances are a great means of strengthening the cohesion of the clan.

Like the Mongol tribes who honored their ancestors 771
on an ox cart before their tent, the Monguors never fail 769
to honor their ancestors of the three senior generations of each family at the time of the most important religious rite performed in spring. The cult of the ancestors is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of every family, that the cult of its guardian deity has become that of the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations.

An interesting fact illustrates this frame of mind. Among the thirteen villages of Sha-t'ang Valley one is called the village of the Kan family. In 1914 fourteen families bearing the name of Kan were still living there. These families, according to their own traditions, are desecendants of the Third House of the Kan T'u-ssu [5] established in the region south of Nien-pei. Before 1723, on account of disturbances in the country and better living conditions in lamasery territory, they moved to Sha-t'ang and became subjects of the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung. After the revolt they became Chinese subjects, without bonds with their old clan.

In 1914 I happened to learn that still, every year, at the time of the worshipping of the ancestor of the Kan clan, a member of the Third House traveled to Mo-tou, the ancestral cemetery, three days distant, to attend the ceremony, to contribute to the expenses of the sacrifice, to bring a fixed amount of copper coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple (fifty coins per member of each of the families), to have the names of the members who died during the year entered in the family register, and 771 to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families 769 in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together.

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[1] Rolf Stein, *T'oung Pao* **35**: 68–69, 1940.

[2] A. Van de Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* **1**: 37, 1929.

[3] W. Schmidt, *op. cit.* **9**: 13.

[4] L. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Part I: 48.

[5] Schram, *op. cit.*, 32.

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The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial 614 visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the 769 guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed.

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the 614 villages in promoting the religious rites against the 771 scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses.

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or 593 nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even 769 Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group.

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days preceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble—all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large

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part, based on religion and exercised in religious 593 matters. 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are ac- 771 customed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and [186] prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation.

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the 648 Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by 771 the emperors toward Lamaism.

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in 648
such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or 771
less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368- 643
1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever 648
their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and 792
contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation 814
into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates 663
from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable 648
political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members 814 of the committee. They were showered with honorific 663 titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the 648 capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not inter- 648 fere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'uan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li t'ang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc,* but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavoir was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism 797 to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Bud- 771 dhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family—and the honors, titles, and privileges

granted to the religious chiefs, one could easily suppose 797
that the entire population must have become fervent 771
Lamaists, and that an all-pervading energy radiating from Lamaism must have animated the entire social, family, and clan system. It is easy to suppose that Lamaism, controlling all the levers of power and wealth, and ruling over its own subjects, must have penetrated all the relations of life and colored all the institutions, producing uniformity in religious thinking, improving customs, and eliminating all kinds of unorthodox doctrines.

However, this is thinking in terms of what Christian- 771
ity performed in the Middle Ages when the corporations, the guilds, the feudal system, the monarchy, the social habits of the people, their studies, even their amusements all stemmed from the same ecclesiastical teaching, when the church was the very heart of Christianity. The present study reveals that Lamaism was far from being the center of the religious life in the Monguor society, and that it did not succeed in eliminating shamanism. Even the coloring of the old religious rites, performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families, though tinged with Lamaism, did not succeed in making the Monguors live in a genuine Lamaist atmosphere.

The most baffling fact, after so many centuries, is that the temple of the community in all the Monguor villages is not dedicated to a Lamaist deity, but to Taoist or shamanist deities. In many villages a Lamaist temple was built next to the community temple, but it was never the center of the official religious activities of the villagers. More astonishing is the fact that the religious activities conducted in the village temple on behalf of the community are never performed by lamas, but by shamans or by the chiefs of the villages.

The most important rite of the year is celebrated in the spring in the village temple, in order that the harvest will be blessed. It is attended by the entire community and is performed by "shamans" who invite Taoist and shamanist spirits, *with the exclusion of Lamaist deities,* to preside over the rite and to extend their protection over the harvest.

The elaborate rites devised to obtain protection against the terrible scourge of hailstorms are performed by shamans. The Lamaist rite of the procession with the 108 sacred books is merely added as an extra precaution.

The most important rite celebrated with devotion by each family for its guardian spirit is performed by shamans, because most of these spirits are Taoist or shamanist.

Lamaism not only met with dismal failure in its struggle for the eviction of these all-important shamanist rites, but it never succeeded in impressing a Lamaist interpretation on the old rites performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families.

The thanksgiving rites for the harvest, performed in

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the village temple by the chief of the village, and by each family chief on the roof of his home, are not enacted with gratitude to Buddha. The presence of the shamans in the village temple on this occasion, does not seem to be related to the ceremony, as already explained. Nor did the lamas take over the rite of the sacred animals, so important to the Monguors. This rite is still performed by the chiefs of the villages, or the chiefs of families, who consecrate their herds to the protector spirits of their villages or of their families. Buddha is not substituted as protector of the herds.

The daily morning Wei-sang, an offering and invocation to "Heaven and all the spirits" performed by all the family chiefs, has never been changed into an offering and an invocation to Buddha, although some Om Manis are added, especially at times of trouble in the family.

After the cult of the Obo has been performed by the chiefs of the villages, some lamas chant texts in honor of the "Obo Spirits." Lamas do not interfere with the cult of the fire or the cult of the hearth god; neither do they pray for the blessings of Buddha upon marriages, nor have they endeavored to make the Monguors change the famous formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," into a formula invoking Buddha.

However, when troubles occur which disturb and frighten the families, the Monguors indiscriminately have recourse to lamas, shamans, or Kurtains, inviting those deemed to be the most potent in subduing evil spirits, or in propitiating the infuriated good spirits.

The only field reserved entirely for the activities of the lamas is that of the incineration of people who died peacefully. Shamans take care of the abodes of the wicked souls.

It is clear, therefore, that an all-pervading energy did not radiate from Lamaism to animate the entire social and family life. The cult of Lamaist deities, mixed with that of good and evil spirits, did not create an atmosphere in which Lamaism could produce uniformity in religious thinking and penetrate all the relations of life. If we add the fact that no churches existed where the Monguors could pray in groups and receive religious instruction, it is no wonder that the impact of Lamaism was not intensive.

However, the impact of the daily relations of the Monguors with their lama sons, uncles and relatives, the fast rites, is not to be overlooked, for it accounts for the fact that general Lamaist notions about the Buddhist heavens and their eighteen hells, the paradise of the benevolent Buddha, the terrible judgment of the acts of everybody after death, reincarnation, the sense of responsibility, did penetrate to a certain extent into Monguor society. The endless repetition of the Om Mani formula by lamas and their affirmation that salvation is only possible by recourse to the benevolent Buddha, who is always ready to forgive, to help, and to save anybody, account for the fantastic use of the Om Mani in the daily life of the Monguors, living in a world of fear

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and apprehension of evil spirits. The emotional factor 77/ inherent in Lamaism, stimulating the gratifying hope of salvation in the presence of Buddha in his paradise, is not deemed by them to be incompatible with the performance of shamanist rites and with the worshipping of shamanist and Taoist spirits. The various reincarnations of outstanding and minor Living Buddhas within the Monguor clans and the families of the clan chiefs, explain the fact that Lamaist deities have ~~been~~ chosen as guardian deities of the clans, and that a temple had been built for them in the mansion of the clan chief. However, this did not bother the clan chiefs in worshipping the clan ancestors, with a display of pomp and magnificence, with all their subjects.

In conclusion it must be said that Lamaism has not

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succeeded either in uprooting the shamanist and Taoist rites practiced by the Monguors or in penetrating all the relations of life, but that by adding its new rites to the existing ones it did succeed in stimulating the element of religiousness among the Monguors, in laying stress upon new notions of responsibility, heaven and hell, in giving better moral guidance to the acts of daily life, and finally, in giving some meaning to life, which shamanism had never done. Lamaism did not attain its goal of transforming the Monguor society as did Christianity in the societies of the Middle Ages. More could hardly have been expected from Lamaism debased as it was by Tantrism, whose chiefs in Huang-chung themselves indulged in shamanist practices when they felt the pressure of an emergency. 771

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GLOSSARY

Karwa	The word Karwa is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries. It is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.
K'ang	A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.
Lamasery	The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish. Except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.
Living Buddha	A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a Bodhisattva who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a buddha. He renounces the blessedness of Nirvana and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes

GLOSSARY

	from body to body - because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve - but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.
Torma	A small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with tsamba and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed.
T'u kuan	Eminent Monguor lama of Erh-kulung.

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[For information related to the organization of the lamaseries; internal social structure and its functions in Huang-chung, see category 116, pp. 37A-53B.]

[For the materials on the social function of religion in Huang-chung, see category 116, pp. 157A-159B.]